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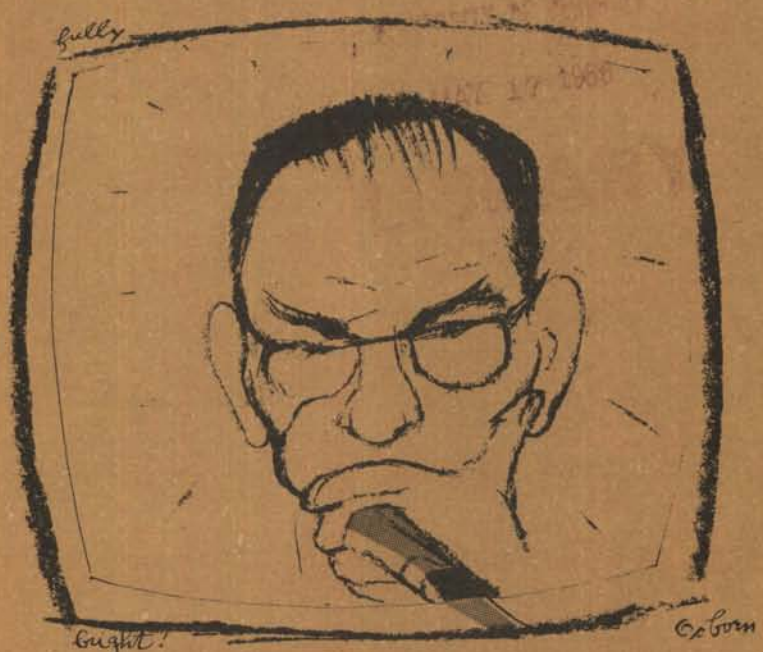

by Alex Campbell

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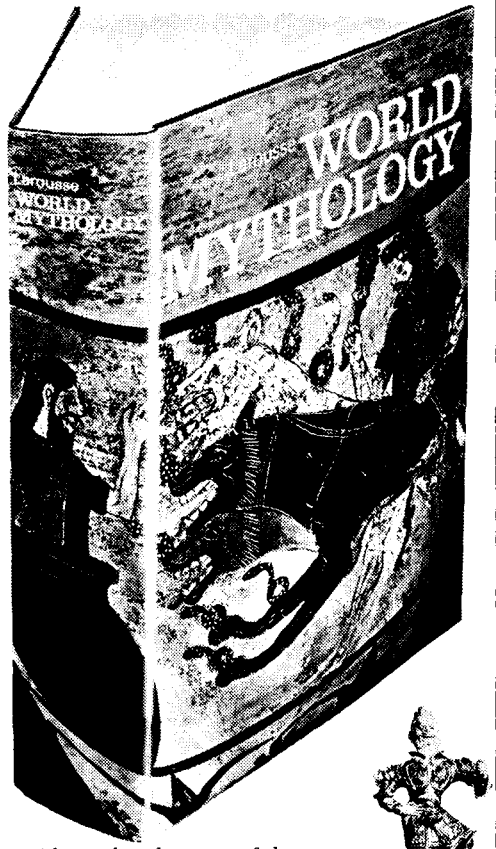

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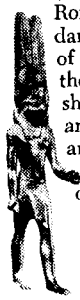

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Travel Restrictions

★ The freedom of United States citizens to visit any foreign land that will admit them is again at issue here. It has been put in question by two bills pending in Congress. One is a measure jointly sponsored by Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi and Representative Michael A. Feighan of Ohio. The other has just been introduced on the State Department's behalf by Representative Wayne L. Hays of Ohio.

Neither is likely to please leaders of Americans for Democratic Action, who got that organization's April 22-24 convention here to call for "removal of [all] restrictions on travel by American citizens except where such travel impedes actual military operations."

Joseph L. Rauh Jr., the ADA's national vice chairman for civil rights and civil liberties, already has denounced the Eastland-Feighan bill. Appearing May 4 before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee that Senator Eastland heads, Rauh said: "The bill on its face is an extreme measure loosely drawn and without definable standards . . . clearly runs afoul of the due process clause of the Fifth Amendment . . . proscribes constitutionally protected First Amendment activities. . . .

"The Eastland-Feighan proposal is," he added, "part of an escalating war on the right to travel. The first battle was the firing of Abba Schwartz from the State Department after he had fought with vigor and success for liberal travel and immigration policies. The second battle was the refusal of Secretary Rusk to dismiss Frances Knight as director of the United States Passport Office despite her announced opposition to Administration travel policies.

"The third battle is the Eastland-Feighan bill which sanctions rendering null and void the right to travel for those Americans who appear out of step with either Frances Knight or the Internal Security Subcommittee."

The day after Rauh testified, Representative Hays introduced on the State Department's behalf a rival to the Eastland-Feighan bill. When several days passed without the press taking note of it, the department called in newsmen to ballyhoo its invention. Stress was put upon the fact that its bill had been in the making for two years, which made it, in effect, an Abba Schwartz creation.

Greater stress was put, however, on the department's proposal being an "omnibus" bill designed to replace the whole congeries of laws relating to passports that have accumulated over the last 50 years. It is also designed to straighten out a situation resulting from two conflicting court decisions. One is the Travis case, in which the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals held it a crime for an American to visit Castro's Cuba without a passport specifically validated for that purpose. The other is the Laub case, in which a New York federal district court held the opposite.

The Constitutional Question

★ Officials at the State Department claim its bill would tightly limit the federal government's power to restrict travel by you and me and the citizen down the street. On the other hand, they say it would make that power enforceable. They add in passing that it would not empower the State Department to deny passports to Communist Party members or otherwise run counter to the Supreme Court's decision in *Aptheker* vs *Secretary of State*, which invalidated a 1950 Subversive Activities Control Act provision making it unlawful for a member of a Communist-action organization to apply for, be issued or use a passport. Arthur J. Goldberg, now our ambassador to the United Nations, spoke for the Court in that case, holding not only that the law at issue "abridged the liberty guaranteed by the Fifth Amendment" but also that "freedom of travel is a constitutional liberty closely related to rights of free speech and association."

In its most recent travel case, *Zemel* vs *Rusk*, the Supreme Court held that the Secretary of State has statutory authority to impose area restrictions on travel, and the State Department's bill capitalizes on that ruling. It would empower the Secretary of State, "subject to the approval of the President," to "restrict the travel of nationals and limit the validity of passports with respect to travel to . . . countries or areas to which the Secretary determines that travel must be restricted in the national interest because such travel would seriously impair the conduct of United States foreign affairs." It would make it "unlawful" for any American to travel in disregard of any "geographical limitations" placed upon his passport and – defining a violation as a "misdemeanor" – would make him subject to a fine of $1,000 and one-year imprisonment.

Those "Liberal" Provisions

★ State Department officials point to that last as one of their bill's "liberal" provisions, since current law makes violations of passport restrictions a "felony" carrying a five-year prison term and $5,000 fine. They also say that the bill provides for the automatic expiration of area restrictions at the end of each year unless renewed by the Secretary of State "with the approval of the President."

Furthermore, they claim for their bill a set of statutory guarantees that, replacing what are now only administrative regulations will assure a fair review procedure in the event of a passport denial or revocation. The bill would provide for revocation or denial of a passport to any American whose "activities abroad" are, in the Secretary's judgment, "causing or likely to cause serious damage to the national security or the foreign policy of the United States." It lays down four stipulations with respect to appeals against such decisions. It would, accordingly, assure the appellant the right "to appear in person and to be represented by counsel," "to testify in his own behalf, present witnesses and offer other evidence," "to be informed of the evidence on which the adverse action is based and the source of such evidence," and, finally, "to confront and cross-examine adverse witnesses."

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Walk, Don't Run

Since the United States is spending at the rate of about $1.5 billion a month to fight the war in Vietnam, it should, if "money talks," be doing the talking. But behold: another speaks – he who is said by Hanoi to be nothing but an echo. Marshal Ky speaks, and the Secretary of State interprets his speech, so that we shall understand Ky does not quite mean what he seems to say. Consider the statements of last week. In an interview on May 7, Marshal Ky said that he expected to stay in power for at least another year; there would, however, be an election for a constituent assembly "about September," September 15 to be exact. No Vietnamese newspaper reported a word of this news, which led one Vietnamese journalist to comment that "it must be the first time in history that a government censored the remarks of its own Prime Minister."

Secretary Rusk explained over television on the following day that Ky "did not say . . . that he is going to stay in office another year." Then, 24 hours later, Mr. Rusk informed the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he too thought "there will be an election for a constituent assembly in September," though "no one can write in blood what is going to happen in the future." That afternoon South Vietnam's Ambassador to the United States told newsmen that he doubted whether "all of the administrative problems and differing points of view between political forces in the country would allow elections to take place in such a short period of time as mid-September." The same day, May 9, an official in Saigon "close to Ky" told *Washington Post* reporter Ward Just that "the government . . . may stay in office a year, or six months, or nine months or two years." And on May 11, Ky repeated his determination to stay in office "until the civilian government is elected." And how long would that be? One year or more; at least until the middle of 1967. Meantime, "all is going well."

Does it much matter whether Ky clears with Rusk and *vice versa*, or who is proved right about the date of elections or the durability of the Ky regime? We doubt it, for all this rushing about to fashion a new suit of legitimacy for Saigon is largely for purposes of display. Mr. George Kennan was closer to the truth when he told the Fulbright Committee weeks ago that genuinely free elections cannot be held in the midst of a civil war. In present circumstances, "elections" will certify little more than the power of those who have the decisive military advantage. Marshal Ky, at least, has been candid enough to say he has no intention of permitting an unrestricted use of the fran-

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chise; and no US official has thus far contradicted him. The May 7 interview with Ky included this:

Question: Mr. Prime Minister, if in the election of an [constituent] assembly, the government seems to be neutralist or Communist, *to be moving toward peace with the Viet Cong* [italics added] what would you and your military associates do?

Answer: Well, we would stand and fight against them.

Question: And if they are neutralists?

Answer: Also.

In sum, only the "right side" will be permitted to win. Thus, Secretary Rusk has nothing to fear and has said so. From his repeated assurances that the people of South Vietnam can be depended upon not to vote wrong (that is to say, vote for settling their disputes among themselves), it can be inferred that the Administration is not actively seeking a way out, or at least a way of not getting in deeper, but instead intends again to surrender the opportunity gradually to disengage without disgrace. And by seeking a way out, we do not mean "scuttle and run." For there is another alternative, an alternative that arises out of the war weariness of the Vietnamese, out of dissatisfaction with the Ky regime and out of the consequences of this prolonged and massive American military presence in Vietnam with its nearly 20,000 dead or wounded Americans and uncounted Vietnamese casualties. The alternative is: "Walk, don't run, to the nearest exit."

There is, in other words, a real possibility of political shifts inside Vietnam that could be, but need not be, signaled by any election – a possibility of the rise to power of non-Communist elements which want peace and want it badly enough to enter direct discussions with the Viet Cong. Who the leaders of this new politics will be, we don't know; they have hardly been encouraged by the US to make their bid openly. But were there to arise a Vietnamese de Gaulle, a friend who invites his friends to go home, both the American and the Vietnamese national interests would be well served: we are winning nothing and losing much, and they are worn down and out by war.

If the United States were so invited, could it do other than accept? Indeed, would we not thereby be meeting our commitments, a phrase so dear to Secretary Rusk? For the American commitment is to help the Vietnamese do what they wish to have done. The commitment is not to supplant the government of Vietnam, not to destroy North Vietnam, not to provoke an all-out war with China. The *will* in Washington to have this miserable war settled, and settled soon, by the Vietnamese themselves, is what is missing thus far. Given the will, the ways open up. And thereafter, the Administration can apply itself to the constructive tasks of repair and development which the President and Vice President have so often mentioned.

Crossing the Atlantic

Airmen are fond of saying that "there are old pilots; there are bold pilots; but there are no old, bold pilots." The saying helps explain why the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) is opposing a bid by the government and the airlines to reduce the width of the North Atlantic air traffic corridors to 90 miles, for flights above 29,000 feet. This is 25 percent less than the 120 miles which has been the accepted air corridor width for almost as long as there have been regular flights across the Atlantic.

On January 13 of this year the narrower separation distance was adopted at the meeting of the International Civil Aviation Organization in Montreal. The burden of showing that it would be safe fell on the technical staff of the US Federal Aviation Agency.

The old 120-mile separation standard was demonstrably safe by any test: there has never been a mid-air collision on the North Atlantic, nor have near misses ever been reported. But more and more flights at the most popular departure hours of the early evening now saturate the most desirable transatlantic air lanes. Soon, summer schedules will more than double the number of North Atlantic arrivals and departures.

To justify its contention that the 90-mile separation standard is safe, the FAA mostly relied on statistical studies of 2,159 flights. In spite of this mass of statistics, the pilots oppose the FAA/ICAO decision. They say all the statistical material so far collected is limited to air carrier operations, with no consideration given to the navigational accuracy of either military aircraft or business jets, although both are using the upper air routes over the North Atlantic in ever-increasing numbers. The pilots also brought two expert statisticians to Washington to testify at the FAA April hearings. These experts reported that the data showed statistical inadequacies. The defects included the discarding of a number of large navigational errors, which the statistical study calls "blunders."

Captain Joseph Bartling, TWA pilot and chairman of ALPA's Air Traffic Control Committee, said a preliminary analysis of the pilots' own survey forms showed course deviations greater than 45 nautical miles in seven percent of the cases, and of more than 30 nautical miles in nearly one-fifth of the trips reported. "There are many large deviations from track," Captain Bartling testified. The pilots' own data also showed greater navigation errors on some days than on others. Captain Bartling said this was sometimes the result of poor weather and sometimes inadequate loran (long range air navigation) radio reception. "From a pilot's standpoint, it is apparent," said Captain Bartling, "that when good fixes cannot be obtained the chances for large off-track errors increase." The Federal Aviation

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Agency's survey on the other hand showed that for at least 99.95 percent of the time, North Atlantic aircraft keep within 45 miles of the assigned track. According to a TWA calculation, this means that the collision probability is once every 560 years. FAA interprets the data to mean that even a reduction to 60 miles separation would be safe.

Both parties admit that navigation errors do occur. One reason they occur is that "black boxes" are rapidly replacing full-time navigators on most transatlantic airline flights. The black box, or mechanical navigator, most in use is a doppler device which, coupled into a computer, has the ability to sense off-course drift in the aircraft, and to calculate corrections needed. This electronic drift meter is admittedly not the final answer to long over-water navigation, even though it is a major improvement over older systems. The machine can become confused, or may through human error be fed wrong data. Sextants, invaluable for position-finding almost since the days of Henry the Navigator, are carried aboard most transatlantic jets. But too often, since the full-time navigator's job was abolished, there is nobody on the flight deck who knows how to use a star-sight instrument. As a result, planes can and do stray off course almost every night. The statistical studies are proof of this, but they don't answer the all-important question: Which planes?

The answer seems to be: those planes which lack either a full-time navigator on the flight deck, a complete set of the latest in-flight navigational aids, or both. The names of the laggard operators were never mentioned, nor are they likely to be, during the FAA hearings, but at least one witness had an answer to the corollary question of what to do about these "dunce cap" navigators. Roger H. Waldman, executive vice president of the International Airline Navigators Council, told FAA: "History has shown us that the public cannot entirely depend on the integrity of all operators to provide the highest standards achievable. For this reason we can visualize no alternative, except for the various state agencies to enforce flight restrictions on poor performers." In other words, route the bad performers around the good guys. It may take more fuel for their flights, but this will spur laggards to sharpen up their navigation equipment and procedures.

FAA may or may not adopt this suggestion. But whatever else comes out of the current public hearings, the controversy has already had one effect. ICAO, which has under consideration a proposal by FAA to reduce the separation standard in the Pacific from 100 to 80 miles, has decided to shelve it for the time being, or at least until some of the more urgent questions being raised about the reduction in standards on the Atlantic are better answered.

ROBERT BURKHARDT

NEXT WEEK: *Johnson's choice now in Vietnam— a new appraisal by Hans J. Morgenthau*

Alinsky and Oakland

Oakland, California

From Our Special Correspondent

The specter of Saul Alinsky waiting in the wings has wrought changes here. A churchman told a packed meeting of the Oakland Council of Churches, debating whether to support the effort to bring Alinsky to Oakland, "If we can get this kind of action by just mentioning his name, I just wonder what his presence will do!" The Council voted against trying to find out, but at the same time it warned City Hall to show it means business in warring on poverty, or else.

The new mayor, a wealthy businessman who considers himself a "conservative Republican," agrees the poor have been shoddily treated by city officials, a shocking admission in this Knowland-oriented town. "The wall around City Hall must come down," the mayor says. His proposals are modest, however. He wants a human rights committee (a step his predecessor refused to take). He also favors "some alternative" to a police review board (twice rejected by the City Council in the last six months), because he doesn't want to "hinder the effectiveness of our police force." He offers four alternatives: an inspector general, a Scandinavian-type ombudsman, a "Citizens Alert" organization or civilian membership on a review board organized within the police department.

Publisher William Knowland, the former US Senator and the grey eminence of Oakland power, is opposed to any limitation on police authority. In his paper he has persistently ignored social problems, on the theory that publicizing them only makes them worse. His pride is in a big baseball stadium nearing completion, a new airport, a new art and museum complex. These are held out as reasons why new business should locate in Oakland. The fact is that there has been little new investment. Industry is leaving for less turbulent

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spots. Unemployment holds at between 10 and 11 percent, twice the national rate, and has remained at that level for a half-dozen years. In the worst slums, unemployment is 35 percent and up to 75 percent among those under age 22. Forty-one percent of the population lives in underemployed and underhoused areas.

"In view of the deteriorating urban scene and the ineffectiveness of the usual agency-oriented programs," the San Francisco Presbytery, governing body of all Presbyterian churches in the Bay Area, including Oakland, agreed to raise $200,000 to hire Alinsky to organize the indigenous poor of Oakland, if *they* want him. However, a sizable opposition threatens to reverse that decision. It would not withhold the money; it would give it instead to the local war on poverty. The leader of the opposition to Alinsky says, "We must not cease the pressure toward a solution, but we must not succumb to the tactics of the jungle." There is no evident consensus in the Negro community, where the so-called "responsible" leadership is generally opposed to Alinsky, and the unaffiliated want him. There are 90,000 Negroes in Oakland, many of whom live in the city's flatlands and in tenements whose only breeze is from the smokestacks of industry. Most of the 30,000 Mexican-Americans live on their fringes. In a single year, the welfare case load in these neighborhoods has shot up 12.6 percent. Mexican-American spokesmen say they would welcome Alinsky. A grim joke makes the rounds, "Don't let Watts become another Oakland."

Alinsky says the "problem in Oakland is that the power structure doesn't know there are any Negroes. We'd show them some Negroes." He would stage a "Watermelon March" and a "Sunday Walk." Several hundred of the "blackest" Negroes would be dressed in coveralls, handed watermelons and marched from City Hall to the *Oakland Tribune*, Knowland's paper. Equally dark-skinned Negroes, elegantly attired, would take a Sunday stroll through the best white neighborhoods. Alinsky's goal would be to move Negroes into places where the "white establishment has built its finest amenities," with the anticipated result that the "white people will move out and you've got their goodies." For the rest, Alinsky, part stuntman, will not say; his method depends to a great degree on the element of surprise, calculated to outrage.

Mayor John Reading, who appears to want to do *something*, is on the griddle, an unaccustomed spot for an Oakland mayor. He has given himself "six months to a year" to produce meaningful progress that will "forestall" another Watts and satisfy local clergymen, who were prodded by him to vote against Alinsky. There is also a possibility that should the Presbyterians withdraw their invitation, others will make their own bid for Alinsky's services.

Oakland's former mayor, an attorney who is now under indictment for allegedly embezzling nearly $100,000 from an estate he managed, regards his town as an "exhibit A, Purple Heart city in trouble." The Johnson Administration's first attempt at rebuilding the nation's cities will be made here, it was announced on April 29: $23 million in loans and outright grants to build four public-works projects, meaning permanent jobs for 2,200 persons, with the emphasis on the hard-core unemployed. The Commerce Department's Economic Development Administration said contracts will be conditioned on hiring as many of these individuals as possible. Knowland's *Oakland Tribune*, which not so very long ago looked upon federal money as tainted, bannered the news.

Boxed In

Borrowing the tactics of earlier civil rights workers, homosexuals in several parts of the country plan to demonstrate on Armed Forces Day, May 21, to protest their categorical exclusion from military service. Many homosexuals *do* serve in the military, and without scandal. But they must dissemble, hide their sexual tastes from draft boards and in pre-induction screening. The last of 70 items on the medical-history form prospective draftees must fill out when they report for physicals reads, "Have you ever had or have you now . . . homosexual tendencies?" If a homosexual checks the "no" box, he violates a federal law and risks fine and imprisonment. If he checks "yes," he is disqualified and he may be permanently handicapped in getting or holding a job. For example, homosexuals are ineligible for 2.5 million federal jobs under Civil Service. Persons who choose to lie may be accepted for service but when found out are likely to get a stigmatizing dishonorable discharge. The homosexual is thus boxed in by a policy intended to preserve the dignity, discipline and security of the armed forces.

Draft deferments are given to any man who does not measure up in some respect to the medical, mental and moral standards set up by the Defense Department. Along with drug addicts and alcoholics, homosexuals are "deferred" (read rejected) on medical grounds, although their position on the spectrum of ineligibility seems closer to that of moral "rejects," including convicted felons.

Army regulations read that "homosexuals are unfit for military service because their presence impairs the morale and discipline of the Army. . . ." The Navy considers homosexuals as "security and reliability risks who discredit themselves and the Navy by their homosexual conduct." A homosexual may be discharged from the Navy "under conditions other than honorable" for offenses including "expressed desire, tendency

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or proclivity toward [homosexual] acts *whether or not such acts are committed*" (Italics added).

Detected homosexuals, if they're lucky, may get by with signing a simple letter: "I hereby tender my resignation for the good of the service (and to escape trial by general court-martial). I understand that my separation from the naval service effected by acceptance of this resignation will be under conditions other than honorable; that I may be deprived of virtually all rights as a veteran under both federal and state legislation; and that I may expect to encounter substantial prejudice in civilian life in situations wherein the type of service rendered in any branch of the armed forces or the character of separation therefrom may have a bearing." Action may be taken against anyone for acts public, private or nonexistent, committed (or wished), during or prior to service.

The Defense Department grants that "it is conceivable that a homosexual individual could perform certain military duties in an efficient and acceptable manner"; nevertheless, "the unique nature of the military environment precludes any possibility of his assimilation within a military organization. The most obvious of the unique elements in this military environment are communal living conditions, close association on an around-the-clock basis, ashore and at sea, the necessity for unrestricted assignability of individuals, other essential requirements of strict discipline, high unit morale, interdependence of individuals and highest order of security."

The Janus Society is one of the homosexual groups planning to demonstrate May 21. Its president, Clark P. Polak, concedes the Defense Department's point about the pressures of communal living and says he does not favor retention in the service of anyone who solicits or commits homosexual acts in public, or who is inefficient. He feels, however, that off-duty sex life is the individual's own affair.

The National Capital Area Civil Liberties Union position on federal employment of homosexuals might apply as well to their service in the armed forces. "Disruptive and improper behavior on the job," the NCACLU believes, "is easily and rapidly ascertained by supervisory personnel and is clearly grounds for dismissal. . . . But there is no valid justification for policies which discriminate against capable people on the supposition that they might present personnel problems when there is no clear indication to this effect in the individual case."

DAVID SANFORD

A Tax Boost Soon?

by Walter W. Heller

Were it not for Vietnam, we would now be comfortably contemplating the form and size of the fiscal dividends needed to keep us on the road to full employment, rather than considering what further actions may be needed to ease the strain on our productive capacity. Just before the escalation in Vietnam last July, many observers of the economic scene were expressing doubts about our ability to sustain prosperity into 1966. The possibility of a modest 1966 tax cut as an economic stimulus was being discussed. Instead, we have had to deal with the overstimulus of Vietnam.

It is true, of course, that even with Vietnam, defense outlays in this fiscal year are running only slightly above last, and are still below 8 percent of the Gross National Product. But this tends to mask the important economic fact that *the rate of spending today is some $5 billion above its rate just 10 months ago.* Allowing for various multiplier effects, this means that the added impact of Vietnam since last summer accounts for something over $15 billion of current demand.

Let me be specific: Federal purchases in the first quarter of 1966 were some $5 billion above the rate in the second quarter of 1965 – and this approximates the Vietnam increment in federal spending. But it measures only part of its economic impact. During the past two quarters, inventory accumulation has been rapid, in large part in response to military orders that have not yet appeared in the federal purchase figures, and to the step-up in general economic activity stimulated by defense spending. A reasonable guess is that $2 billion

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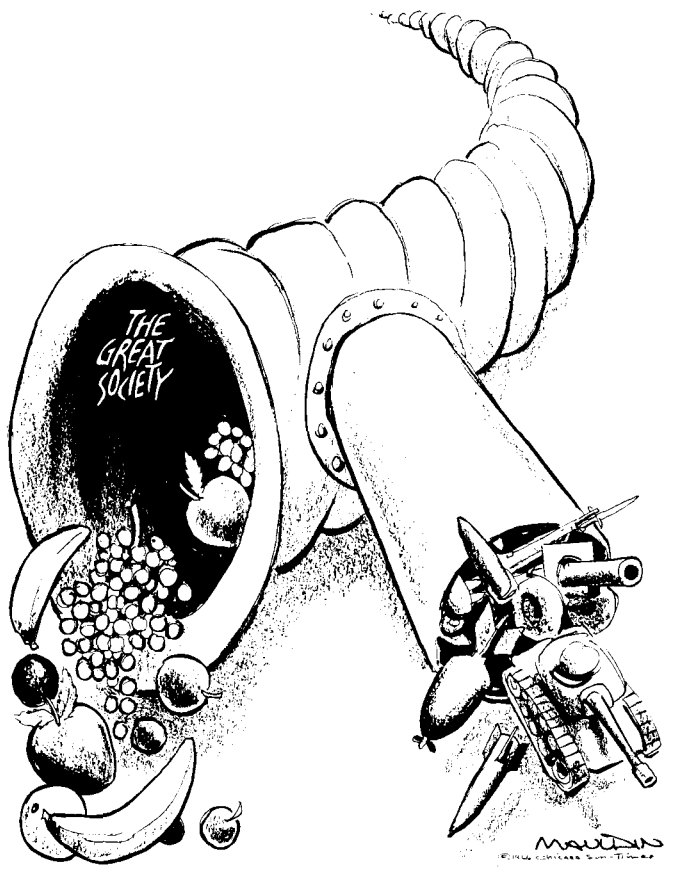
to $3 billion of the $8-billion inventory-accumulation rate in the first quarter is attributable to the war in Vietnam. In addition, let me assume that $1 billion to $2 billion of the $7 billion rise in business fixed investment since last year's second quarter traces, directly and indirectly, to Vietnam. This brings me to $8 billion to $10 billion of additional federal purchases, inventory building and business fixed investment. Adding induced consumption spending to this, and allowing for possible minor reductions in a few other sectors such as residential construction and our net exports, these figures add up to a Vietnam increment of at least $15 billion to the first-quarter GNP.

Without this increment, and in the absence of other policy steps, our first-quarter GNP would still be roughly $700 billion rather than $714 billion; our unemployment rate would be hovering around last summer's 4.5 percent rather than the present 3.8 percent level; and capacity utilization rates in manufacturing would still be on their plateau around 88 percent, rather than at 90.5 percent as recently reported by McGraw-Hill.

These figures tell a story not only of economic overheating but of a pruning back of Great Society programs and postponement of further tax cuts that would have been possible – indeed, economically welcome – had Vietnam not intervened.

In putting today's taut economy to the policy test, our main concern is whether the balance of economic risks calls for further fiscal restraint, more particularly, for a temporary income-tax increase. President Johnson has made clear that he will call for additional taxes if higher costs in Vietnam require it. But the question at issue here is whether additional insurance is needed against inflation and its economic consequences.



Leak

How Serious Is Inflation?

The immediate evidence on inflation is mixed. . . . Perhaps voluntary restraints, together with a moderate further turn of the monetary screw, will see us through (unless, of course, Vietnam costs rise further and demand a tax increase). Serving for the moment as angel's advocate, let me cite some of the points that support this position:

► Much of the 4 percent rise in wholesale prices in the past year was in food – indeed, producer finished goods rose only 1.3 percent – and the wholesale-price index has been fairly steady for about 10 weeks, even declining a bit in the last week or two.

► Given the continued brisk advance in productivity that grew out of the great investments in plant and equipment, technology, and manpower of the 1961-65 period – not to mention the impact of the wage-price guideposts and the rapid growth of the labor force – unit labor costs have behaved surprisingly well.

► The great surge in plant and equipment investment is adding between 6 percent and 8 percent to our manufacturing capacity, and our labor force is growing by 1.5 million, or 2 percent, in 1966.

► There is no sign of significant consumer shortages.

► The new tax bill, tighter money and the $6 billion of Social Security taxes are significant restraining influences which have not yet had their full impact. Graduated-income-tax withholding, for example, went into effect this month.

► Unless Vietnam reescalates, some of its biggest economic thrust is already behind us.

An impressive precedent for the voluntary approach was established by last year's balance-of-payments guidelines, an example of constructive cooperation between business and government which is a tribute both to a highly effective President and to a highly responsible business and financial community. The President has scored notable successes with the wage-price guideposts, *e.g.*, in last year's modest steel settlement, in aluminum and copper price rollbacks, in inducing withdrawal of the excessive New Jersey construction wage settlement, and in gaining strict conformity of government pay increases to the 3.2-percent guidepost

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figure – and one has the feeling that these publicized guidepost impacts are merely the tip of the iceberg. The President's recent appeal to American business leaders to cut back their unsustainable pace of plant and equipment investment has already had a far greater response than most skeptics expected.

To show that economy begins at home, the President has put $1.1 billion of budget economies before Congress, has cut back government construction, and has even postponed the addition of two rooms to his home on the LBJ Ranch. Every opportunity is being used to ease tight supply situations by such measures as releasing metals from government stockpiles; suspending import restrictions on lead, zinc, residual oil, sugar and cheddar cheese; cutting back exports of products like hides; and seeking to ease labor bottlenecks.

But one can be a man of great faith both in President Johnson's economics and in the tremendous strength and capacity of the American economy and still conclude that the balance of calculated risks calls for added restraint. One needs to step back just a bit from the week-to-week movements in prices, inventories, retail sales and so on to take another look at the overall forces at work in the economy and to strike a new balance.

Adding up all the sources of demand – consumption, government and investment – I still see a faster advance than even our potent economy can accommodate at present prices. Even if quarterly advances the rest of this year are $2 billion or $3 billion less than the huge $17 billion advance of the first quarter, demand would be advancing considerably faster than the $10 billion to $11 billion per quarter that the American economy can supply with the kind of price stability we had in 1960-65.

I am especially concerned about the 1966 investment surge which, though it provides welcome muscle for Vietnam, is currently creating inflationary pressures in the machinery and equipment and construction areas, pressures which could spread to other parts of the economy and could hit an important segment of our export market. This surge threatens us with a later investment downturn and/or future excess capacity under conditions of normal peacetime growth (which can absorb only 4 percent to 5 percent annual increases in such capacity, against the 6 percent to 8 percent increase currently coming "on stream"). If a significant amount of such investment could be postponed from today's overheated economy to a later period of reduced pressure, it would be a double economic blessing.

While the slim calendar of major wage negotiations in 1966 is an important asset in forestalling even a mild price-wage spiral this year, the calendar will be full next year, and an atmosphere of relative price stability will be highly desirable.

I am reluctant to put more of a burden on monetary policy. Monetary restraint has been a welcome, if limited, influence on investment spending. But further increases would pose two difficult problems:

1. With our interest rates acting as a magnet that pulls up interest rates abroad, we may find an increasing ratchet effect in monetary policy – what goes up to fight overexpansion today may not come down as readily to fight underexpansion tomorrow.

2. The threat of a serious "squeeze" on savings institutions if money rates are pushed up still further must give the monetary authorities pause.

Of course, if there were an early relaxation of the economic pressures of Vietnam, we would all have an easy way out. But lacking this most desirable escape, I come out as follows: *Having a full-fledged set of temporary income-tax surcharges ready for enactment on a moment's notice when the President strikes his own 1966 economic action balance would be highly desirable economic insurance.* It would be not merely good insurance against inflation but insurance of less economic shock when Vietnam costs level off or decline; less excesses in plant and equipment and perhaps in inventories; less pressure on our imports and less cost increases built into our exports.

In urging further steps toward fiscal restraint, I believe it would be wrong to exert such restraint in the form of further expenditure cutbacks, for the following reasons:

► Administrative budget expenditures have been a steadily falling percentage of GNP, running at about 17 percent in 1955 and 15 percent today – seen in this perspective, relative federal budget outlays are $14 billion less than they were in 1955.

► When the "new economics" called for fiscal stimulants in 1961-65, our chief reliance was on tax reduction – to the tune of nearly $20 billion, at this year's level of GNP – rather than government expenditure increases. If we now cut civilian expenditures to fight inflation, such expenditures would be the victim both ways.

► Expenditure cutbacks are much more likely to hurt the lower income groups than are tax increases. It would be far better for us to give up a few private frills than to slow down our efforts to root out poverty, strengthen education, combat air and water pollution, and restore the rotting core of our cities.

Therefore, my "weapon of choice" would be similar to the one cited illustratively by the Administration, namely, *a temporary surtax on corporate and individual income taxes – a 6 percent surtax, for example, would yield around $5 billion annually. Likewise, a temporary suspension of the 7 percent investment credit would make good economic sense.*

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LBJ's Civil Rights Bill

by Alexander M. Bickel

The new civil rights bill which the President sent to Congress on April 28 and on which hearings are under way is notable for its attacks on two problems not dealt with in recent federal legislation: jury discrimination and discrimination in the housing market.

Racial discrimination in the selection of juries, state or federal, has long been forbidden. Nevertheless, it has persisted in state courts in parts of the South. And even in some federal courts, whether because of overt discrimination or the careless use of inherently biased selection methods, Negro representation on juries has been, in the words of the Attorney General, "substantially less than the proportion of Negroes in the community." With respect to federal juries, Title I of the new bill prescribes in detail a uniform method of selection to be followed throughout the country. The basic source of names for juries – not used in all districts in the past – is to be voter registration lists, except as the federal judges in a given circuit may find it necessary to use some other source as well, in order to ensure adequate representation of Negroes. For even now that the Voting Rights Act of 1965, as the President reported to Congress, has placed some 330,000 additional Negroes on the voting rolls in five Southern states, so that a total of 50 percent of eligible Negroes are registered to vote in those states – even now, and for the immediate future, there will be proportionately many more whites than Negroes on voting lists in the South and perhaps elsewhere. It is well, therefore, that federal judges should be empowered to use supplementary sources of names.

Once a jury list is drawn, the bill provides that all persons on it who are citizens, literate in English, not mentally incapacitated, and who have not been convicted of a felony are qualified for jury service. No variant or more stringent qualifications may be imposed in any judicial district, as was possible in the past, and there will therefore be, the Attorney General concedes, no more "blue-ribbon" juries in the federal system.

The enforcement section of this otherwise excellent title suffers from a curious omission. It enables defendants in criminal cases, and both parties in civil cases, to challenge the jury, and to demand that a new jury list be produced by procedures which comply with this bill. But it nowhere says that a prosecutor in a criminal case may similarly object that the jury has not been properly constituted in accordance with the provisions of this bill, and similarly ask for a new and properly drawn jury list. Nor does it anywhere provide any other method by which the government can ensure that the requirements of this bill are complied with in every judicial district. On the day the bill was introduced, Senator Jacob Javits drew attention to this omission, which remains unexplained. It is important, for it may disadvantage the government in prosecutions under federal statutes punishing racial crimes. There is as much interest in having adequate Negro representation on juries that hear such cases as on juries that try Negro defendants.

These, then, are the provisions dealing with the composition of juries in federal courts throughout the nation – a matter over which the federal government has, of course, plenary power. As to juries in state courts, federal power arises only under the Fourteenth Amendment, and reaches only to the prevention of racial or other arbitrary discriminations. Title II of the bill, therefore, forbids discrimination in the composition of grand or petit juries in state courts "on account of race, color, religion, sex, national origin or economic status." But it does not go on affirmatively to prescribe methods of jury selection, or to establish qualifications for jury service. Rather it authorizes the Attorney General to bring suit in federal court for an injunction against racial and other arbitrary discrimination in the selection of juries. And it authorizes – but does not require – federal courts at the conclusion of such a suit to prohibit or suspend the use of any qualification set by a state for jury service, which is on its face discriminatory, or which is susceptible of being used in discriminatory fashion, or has been so used. It also authorizes – but again does not require – federal courts to prescribe objective criteria for determining whether any person satisfies the state's qualifications for jury service, to order the maintenance of records which may be necessary for proof that discrimination is practiced, and to appoint a master to take over the duties of local jury officials where compliance cannot otherwise be secured.

From the enforcement point of view, jury discrimination in the state courts is a problem almost precisely analogous to voting discrimination, and the provisions of this bill are an enforcement device precisely analogous to the devices used with respect to the voting problem by the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960. Unless there is a massive surge of voluntary compliance – and

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in some places it may not be overly sanguine to look for it – injunctions are no more likely to solve the jury problem than they were able to solve the voting problem. Litigation is inherently cumbersome, and even if it is successful, results can be partly frustrated by state legislative obstruction. Moreover, litigating success itself can be frustrated by unsympathetic Southern federal district judges. The array of remedies provided in this bill may or may not be used by district judges in the South, pretty much in their own discretion. No doubt Southern legislatures are a good bit more tired of resisting on all fronts now than they were half-a-dozen years ago, and so are segregationist district judges. And yet – again, barring substantial voluntary compliance – the ultimate solution will probably have to pursue further the analogy to the voting problem. Congress may in the end have to suspend local laws that set qualifications for jury service, establish its own, as it has for federal courts, and send in federal officials to select and constitute jury panels in state as well as federal courts. This would be to apply the scheme of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 to the jury problem. Meanwhile, administration of the provisions of this bill will place on a permanent and authoritative record evidence of persistent jury discrimination – precisely as was done with respect to voting.

Title III of the bill is a perfecting amendment to Title III of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, further enhancing the authority of the Attorney General to bring school desegregation and other lawsuits.

Title IV is the housing title. It is aimed at preventing "discrimination on account of race, color, religion or national origin in the purchase, rental, lease, financing, use and occupancy of housing throughout the nation." It declares such discrimination on the part of owners, lessees, managers of real estate and brokers or salesmen to be unlawful, and it forbids not only refusals to sell or rent on discriminatory grounds, but also discriminations in the terms and conditions of sales and leases, and discriminatory advertisements. Indeed, it even goes on to name and forbid such practices as refusals to show a property, or denials of access to multiple listing services. And it also orders all manner of lending institutions not to discriminate by refusing credit, or by extending it on different terms, because of race, color, etc. Finally it makes it unlawful for third parties to interfere with anyone's enjoyment of his right to acquire and use real estate without discrimination. To enforce these comprehensive provisions, a person discriminated against may bring a civil action in a federal or a state court. These courts are authorized, but not required, to appoint an attorney for the plaintiff, and if the plaintiff wins, to allow a reasonable attorney's fee as part of his judgment. The relief which a court may award the plaintiff is not only injunctive (an order to the discriminating owner or agent to sell, or rent, or list and the like), but may include damages to compensate the plaintiff for monetary losses he may have suffered as a result of the discrimination, and also damages for humiliation and mental pain and suffering, as well as up to $500 in punitive damages. However, if the plaintiff demands damages for humiliation and mental suffering, let alone punitive damages, the Seventh Amendment almost certainly entitles the defendant to a jury trial, and in that event, even the injunction may depend on the jury's verdict. Independently of the private right to litigate, the Attorney General, if he finds that there is a "pattern or practice" (a phrase familiar by now in civil rights legislation), may also bring suit. The Secretary of Housing and Urban Development is required to study the nature and extent of housing discrimination throughout the country and to publish reports of his findings. He is told also to administer all the housing and urban development programs that come within his jurisdiction, "in a manner affirmatively to further the policies of this title."

It is a commonplace that neither urban ghettoes nor white suburbs are going to be abolished, in this year or in this decade, through voluntary compliance with a federal anti-discrimination statute, or by lawsuits, even lawsuits that may result in awards of damages. Nor does the Administration claim such miracle-working qualities for its bill. Moreover, juries, which may often be required, cannot be deemed altogether reliable in such cases. On the other hand, the bill will be of some help. There *will* be some voluntary compliance, as well as some successful suits by the Attorney General, and some Negroes and others may have the satisfaction and the economic benefit of winning some lawsuits against discriminating sellers, landlords and agents. That is welcome and it is important, even if it does not bring on the millennium, and even if a carefully drafted provision is added, as in the public accommodations title of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, to exempt "Mrs. Murphy's boarding house" – meaning premises where the owner lives in relative intimacy with his tenants. But there are two questions about this housing title: one, again, concerning a curious omission, and another concerning its constitutionality.

Still a Lack of Pressure

For an understanding of the omission, we must go back a step. Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 exacts pledges of nondiscrimination from recipients of federal financial assistance, and authorizes the denial of such assistance where there is discrimination. The effect, as the President reported to Congress, "is now being felt in schools, hospitals, welfare programs and in many other areas once blighted by racial bias." But not

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in housing. Not in housing, because Title VI was amended so as to be inapplicable to financial assistance extended "by way of a contract of insurance or guarantee." Now a very substantial part of all housing is financed with federally guaranteed mortgages or with private mortgages written by banks that benefit from federal deposit insurance. All this, amounting to much the better part of the housing market, was exempted from Title VI. The curious omission in the new bill is that it does not remove this exemption.

The new bill, as noted above, makes it unlawful for any bank or like institution, whether or not benefiting from federal insurance and guaranty programs, to discriminate in housing loans. But this provision does not supply the lack of power under Title VI of the 1964 Act to exert the pressure of federal assistance on those many institutions that do benefit from federal insurance and guaranty programs. Again, as noted above, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development is told in the new bill to administer housing and urban development programs so as to further the policy of nondiscrimination, but this provision is not likely to overcome the exemption in Title VI, for the exemption is specific, and this provision quite general. There is, to be sure, President Kennedy's housing order of 1963, which did attempt some enforcement of nondiscrimination through use of the federal money power. But its application is partial only, its administration has not been a model of vigor, and its continuing validity, in view of Title VI, may be under something of a cloud. The omission in the new bill is glaring, puzzling and far from unimportant. Pressure through the federal insurance and guaranty programs might well be a more effective method of enforcement than the bill otherwise provides, more effective, that is, than private lawsuits – especially if they are tried before juries – or litigation by the Attorney General.

Is It Constitutional?

The constitutionality of the housing title has been rested by the Justice Department on the clause in the Constitution which authorizes Congress to regulate interstate commerce – the same clause on which the employment and public accommodations titles of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 chiefly rest. The reasoning, as quoted by *The New York Times*, is as follows. "The interstate movement of funds for housing; the interstate travel of individuals, which can be impeded by segregation in housing in various areas; and disturbances resulting from housing segregation that can have an adverse effect on the interstate movement of people and goods." Senator Everett Dirksen, whose support may well be crucial, and who has said that the title stands no chance of passage, believes it "absolutely unconstitutional." If you can tell me, he remarked in characteristic merriment, "what interstate commerce is involved in selling or renting a house fixed to the soil, or where there is federal jurisdiction, I'll go out and eat the chimney off the house." Without going into the matter at great length, it is a safe assertion that under existing constitutional decisions, Senator Dirksen can be made to eat chimneys. The argument from the Commerce Clause is not at all outlandish.

It may also be that the federal government has more power under the Reconstruction Amendments, which include the Thirteenth, abolishing slavery, as well as the more famous Fourteenth, to deal with racial discrimination in housing than with other civil rights problems. As the Supreme Court pointed out in 1883, in the *Civil Rights Cases*, "disability to hold property" was an incident of the status of slavery, and Congress in 1866, before there was a Fourteenth Amendment, relied on the Thirteenth "to secure to all citizens of every race and color . . . those fundamental rights which are the essence of civil freedom, namely: the same right . . . to inherit, purchase, lease, sell and convey property, as is enjoyed by white citizens." Interestingly enough, the President quoted this early statute in his message to Congress transmitting the new civil rights bill. The Court in 1883 did not pass on the question whether this statute, directed not only at the action of states, but at private activities as well, was constitutional under the Thirteenth Amendment, without recourse to the Fourteenth or to the Commerce Clause. But the Court did distinguish the right to acquire and lease property, from a right to use privately-owned public accommodations, such as hotels, which it held could not be secured under the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Amendments alone. So it is at least possible – *pace* Senator Dirksen – that this housing title may find some constitutional support also, and more than was available for the public accommodations and employment titles of the 1964 Act, elsewhere than in the Commerce Clause.

Title V of the new bill makes more specific, and hence considerably easier to enforce, existing criminal legislation against racial violence. It punishes the use of force by *anyone* to hinder the enjoyment of the rights created in this bill and in previous civil rights acts. It has the virtue also of punishing offenders much more severely than existing statutes do.

Though it was not part of his own bill, the President in his message to Congress recommended also that the Senate "complete action" (which may conceivably be something less than a recommendation that it enact) on a bill passed in the House on April 27, which enlarges the coverage and greatly strengthens the enforcement provisions of the Equal Employment Opportunity Title (Title VII) of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

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The Outlook for Bosch

A Report from the Dominican Republic

by Andrew Kopkind

Santo Domingo

There are times when Juan Bosch would rather be almost anything else than president of the Dominican Republic. "I want not to win this election," he said morosely in the course of a long conversation one rainy afternoon in May. But Bosch is not likely to get his wish. The elections which many people thought impossible now appear inevitable; they are set for June 1; Bosch is the odds-on-favorite.

There is nothing unnatural about Bosch's occasional fits of gloom. If he wins, his troubles begin. Today, he sees his country from the prison that is his own house, which he has left just twice during the campaign – both times for personal emergencies and at night. He spends his days under a palm-thatched pergola in a tiny walled-in patio, receiving callers and taping speeches for the daily radio broadcasts. Campaigners, officials, friends are admitted through a circle of guards, across a sandbagged front yard, through a maze of locked doors leading to sitting rooms, offices and nondescript antechambers. In one of them there is a bookshelf: *Land Reform in Taiwan* and Erich Fromm's *The Heart of Man* stand next to thinly-bound volumes in Spanish. In an alcove next to the pergola, two Dominican women scrub clothes in a soapy tub.

The visitors swirl around Bosch, following as he moves swiftly around the enclosure; he greets them with a warm, open-armed *abrazo*, talks for a few minutes, then sends them off with the same gesture. Just outside the circle, a navy "frogman" – one of the small elite corps fiercely loyal to the pro-Bosch "constitutionalist" rebels in last year's revolution – stands guard in his black uniform, black canvas shoes, and black kepi, with a submachine gun slung over his shoulder.

"If I left this house and went to the city – or any city in the country – thousands of people would surround me," Bosch said, relaxing as best he could in a straight-back kitchen chair. "I want most of all to avoid a disturbance." His opponents put off the guards and the seclusion to personal fear (which is why, they say, he remained in Puerto Rico for five months during and after the revolution), or to an exaggerated sense of indispensability, or to campaign demagoguery designed to dramatize Bosch's persecution by terrorists in the military forces. But Bosch, and most Dominicans, believe the dangers are real. Although there are no more snipers in Santo Domingo and the terrorism has largely subsided in the past few months (after scores, perhaps hundreds were murdered), there is no end to anxiety. "The extreme right might try anything to stop the elections at the last minute," a former government official told me. An attempt on Bosch's life, even if unsuccessful, would provoke mass demonstrations.

It is a small miracle in any case that the election program has proceeded so far without interruption. A year after US military intervention (at one time there were 23,000 troops), politics in the Dominican Republic are hardly "normal," even if the edge of violence has been dulled. The country is still in that condition which McGeorge Bundy called "an interrupted civil war," or more accurately, an interrupted revolution. There is a pervasive expectation of another act to come. Order, such as it is, is maintained by an uneasy and certainly temporary equilibrium of forces. The most obvious component is "La FIP," the 7,447-man Inter-American Peace Force of the Organization of American States. For most purposes, it is a US army of occupation (some Brazilians, Hondurans, Paraguayans and Nicaraguans are included, but there is no doubt about who is in control). La FIP, popularly interchangeable with *los Yanquis*, no longer patrols the main streets with tanks and armed jeeps, or searches citizens "from the head to the foot," as a Dominican engineer complained bitterly, "with no tact at all." It has been ordered away from the highly political University of Santo Domingo, and FIP soldiers were pulled back from checkpoints late last month – both after the kind of "unfortunate accidents" (natives killed or hurt) which an occupying force cannot easily avoid.

But the army is by no means invisible. Troops inhabit two of the major tourist hotels and part of the third. Convoys rumble through town and helicopters whirr overhead. The best residences have been taken over for such support activities as the "USFORDOMREP Library," the US Army Service Club, and various

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staff headquarters. There are about 900 people in the official US mission – one of the biggest in the world. There are CIA and FBI agents, and Special Forces soldiers in civilian clothes wander throughout the countryside. There has been the usual sprouting of hamburger stands, black-market cigarettes (sales of the local product dipped 40 percent after the invasion), Coca-Cola. Waiters in the restaurants, as a matter of course, bring "fren' frie' " to anyone who looks vaguely *Norteamericano*.

The Caretakers

Exactly what the helicopters and the convoys whirr and rumble for is not at once apparent. By and large, the FIP is here as a symbol of control, as a guarantor of the semblance of order, and as an umbrella for the provisional government of Hector García-Godoy. Installed by the US in early September after the Act of Reconciliation ended the civil war in its rawest form, García-Godoy is provisional in almost every way. He survives (there have been rightist coups attempted) at the sufferance of the FIP. He has had his share of problems with all factions and has only narrowly squeezed through: the US had to remove General Wessin y Wessin bodily from the country and plant him as a military attaché in Miami. When two of Wessin's anti-revolutionist colleagues refused to leave, García-Godoy told the US Embassy he wanted a "Dominican solution," and kicked the military chiefs upstairs to positions in the government. He talked his way out of a widely successful general strike by the revolutionists in February, and finally won peace at the University by granting recognition (and funds) to an "insurgent," pro-revolution administration. Like almost every other Dominican politician, he has called for the removal of the FIP; no doubt he would like the troops to go before his term of office expires in a few weeks, as his parting shot at history.

The FIP and the provisional government are the caretakers; they are the constants in the equilibrium. The other forces – the military, the politicians, the militants in the streets – jockey for advantage underneath the imposed "tranquillity."

The Dominican military, like its counterparts in many Latin American countries, has been traditionally the instrument through which the small industrialist and landed upper classes can maintain their position. Civil government is largely irrelevant to the military's power. The dictator Trujillo appeased his generals and colonels with generous favors, but in the end even he became their victim. He trusted only the air force under his son, Ramfis, and he gave it ground weapons of its own to keep the army in check. Since Trujillo's assassination in 1961, no government has been able to cut into the military's independence. General Wessin (of Trujillo's beefed-up air force) led the coup against Bosch's short "constitutional" government in 1963; Bosch's greatest failure in his seven months in office was his unwillingness – perhaps his inability in face of US pressure to the contrary – to change the structure and command of the armed forces.

The young colonels and the lower officers who overthrew the junta of Donald Reid Cabral to start the revolution a year ago represented a new and still ill-defined force in the country. Many of them had not been cut in on the beneficence distributed to the commanders. "The lower officers are poor, hungry and barefoot," Hector Aristy, the civilian leader of the revolutionary government, explained recently. That is perhaps hyperbole, but in general the lower military officers were an aggrieved class. How "revolutionary" they are is problematic, but their disaffection with the classic role of the armed forces – the support of the *oligarquía* – has been taken into account: most of the rebel military leaders of last year have been sent abroad. Col. Francisco Caamaño Deñó, the head of it all, is in London. Col. Manuel Ramon Montes Arache, the commander of the frogmen, is in Canada. Others have been dispatched to Paris, Brussels, Spain, Mexico, Holland, Guatemala; the cadets are in Chile. Except for Wessin and Navy Chief Francisco J. Rivera Caminero, most of the anti-revolutionist military leaders remain in the Dominican Republic, and for a year the armed forces (now 30,000 strong, counting the paramilitary national police) have been under commanders of the very oldest guard.

It is now an article of faith in pro-Bosch ranks that all the power of that old guard is as nothing compared to the fervor of the people aroused: it is taken for granted that the rebels would have easily defeated the generals if the US had not given Wessin assurances of its support, and if the intervention (on the fifth day of the revolution) had not taken place. There is good internal evidence for such faith. General Wessin himself acknowledged that his junta forces had been virtually defeated in the first few days of the revolt. In any case, the ex-rebels, would-be rebels and potential rebels in Santo Domingo now claim that the old military men are "finished," and that only the FIP gives them the appearance of power.

The people who made the revolution – those in the streets and the huge numbers of urban slum-dwellers, *campesinos*, and idealistic youth – have a new sense of dignity this year and a feeling that they "can do" something about their country. It is difficult to avoid comparisons with the atmosphere in a Southern city after a civil rights demonstration, or for that matter with Watts after last summer's revolt (Bosch told me, in passing: "You had the Dominican revolution in Los

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Angeles"). But for the moment the interrupted revolution is expressed in the political maneuvering.

There are a dozen or more political parties, movements and groupings, representing every political interest, style and opinion. "Political parties of the Dominican Republic" would make a good subject for a very long doctoral thesis in Latin American studies, but in fact the parties make little difference to what is actually going on. At bottom, there are only three approaches to Dominican problems: return to the paternalistic control of a Trujillo and the juntas; remake Dominican society under a kind of "revolutionary" regime; or try to mediate between the incredibly poor and troubled populace and the small but immensely hostile upper classes by means of a government of the "democratic left."

Juan Bosch is dedicated to trying the third way. He must therefore suffer attack from both sides. The old guard is quite convinced that he is a Communist; the far left says it will vote for him but disagrees with his objectives. He dislikes those in both camps with equal passion. Still, he must grant enough concessions – the economic and political reforms he promises – to keep his large following among the "masses" (as he calls them), and to keep the right-wingers and the military that support them from kicking him out of office.

Americans in Santo Domingo tend to see the Dominican Republic in terms of their own experience – as a slow-moving, slowly improving society. But the Dominicans are in no mood to play Republican and Democrat, the game in which one side can lose and (more or less) good-naturedly hope to come back another day. There is no underlying consensus of interests here. Winner takes all. Bosch seems to understand very well what is happening.

"The right-wing feels that nothing can stop its power, after the US intervention," he told me. "And the intervention has also caused a tremendous increase in Communism in the new generation. You can see it in activity in the unions, in the schools, and on the streets. These are two irreconcilable forces, and they could cause an explosion at any time."

To deal with them, Bosch has been trying to put together a coalition of center forces broad enough to assure the stability of the government he hopes to form. He has held to his pact with the Social Christians, the second largest party of the "non-Communist left" (next to Bosch's own *Partido Revolucionario Dominicano*). The Social Christian leader, Dr. Antonio Rosario, first announced his candidacy for the presidency, then withdrew in favor of Bosch; rather, he was forced to withdraw by younger elements in his party. Bosch turned down an offer of support by the radical 14th of June Movement – called "1J4" – on the reasonable grounds that it might give him 25,000 votes but would lose him perhaps 125,000. He has been outspokenly anti-Communist, has reacted sharply against attempts to form a "united front" (there are also two Communist Parties, one pro-Chinese and the other vaguely pro-Russian). He refused to endorse one general strike, and supported the other, in February, only when it appeared to be a success. His speeches on economic affairs more and more emphasize the need to build the "infrastructure" – roads, dams, schools – before changing the relative standing of the poor and the upper classes by more drastic means. "Bosch is certainly moving to the right," an economist remarked to me. "If he wins, the PRD will be the party of the center and the right."

In the election campaign, Bosch has smooth sailing in the seas of the left. He is the hero of the revolution, and there is no one on the constitutionalist side who will actively oppose him. His two opponents for the presidency both represent the right, and of them Joaquín Balaguer is far and away the stronger. He is a soft-spoken slip of a man, who derives at least some of his strength from the Trujillo era. He was the last puppet president under the old tyrant, but he emerged with much of his "prestige" (a very, very big word here) intact. He left the nastier duties of the dictatorship to others. He is considered to be the "brains" of the government in those days. Balaguer is wooing the *campesinos* who for generations saw Trujillo as a father or at least a rich-uncle figure (there are still pictures of Trujillo on the walls of many a shack in the *campo*). "Who will lower the price of rice for you?" the posters ask. "Balaguer!" Among the anti-Trujillistas, Balaguer's popularity is not helped by the traveling companions he chooses for his campaign caravan – a collection of Trujillo's thugs whom he leads, like George Raft trailing an entourage of movie gangsters. His supporters say that Balaguer, like Bosch, needs whatever protection he can get.

Bosch's Dilemma

Balaguer's party is called *Reformista*, but it is generally thought that reforms are what he will not provide. "Balaguer will win – or else the Communists will take over," a well-to-do manufacturer told me. "If Bosch wins, my friends say we had better learn to row!" The manufacturer lives in a pleasant house with a swimming pool in a small rural village several miles from the capital. He has two cars and a pack of maids, some land, and a towering television antenna atop a bamboo pole in his back yard.

To win, Balaguer would need the unanimous support of the manufacturer's friends, as well as a very large proportion of the *campesinos* – the unpredictable key to the elections. The First Families of the Republic

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– the *oligarquía*, in Latin American terms – are now behind a third presidential candidate, Rafael Bonnelly. There are rumors that Bonnelly will withdraw at the last minute and hand his votes (probably not more than 25,000) to Balaguer. But three weeks before the election, it does not seem likely that any combination can defeat Bosch.

Everybody has been told how important the elections are, and they are beginning to believe it. The buses and the *publicos* – usually rattling old cars that serve as jitneys – carry signs announcing that "To vote is to open the road leading to progress." There are billboards and newspaper ads: "The vote means full sovereignty." The radio is full of spot announcements, speeches, endless exhortations. People talk of politics in the *publicos*, in their homes, on the streets. I listened for hours to an emotional political discussion among 50 or more youths on a street corner in the Los Pepines barrio in Santiago de los Caballeros, the second city of the Republic. It is a highly charged country.

From the very first, the new president will be confronted with demands that will be hard to meet. Bosch, particularly, will have his hands full: he must decide whether to chop up the military and install his own commanders – perhaps Caamaño and Montes Arache, if (as expected) they return from exile.

Bosch will then have to tell the *Yanquis* to go home, presuming he wants them to, which is not entirely clear. The FIP could guarantee Bosch's election, and keep him in power during the crucial first few weeks and months of a government. But anti-FIP sentiment is so strong that it will be difficult to keep from making public exhortations against it. Bosch sees the dilemma: "We cannot have democracy against the Americans, and we cannot have it *with* them."

The "Fourteeners"

The anti-FIP agitation will come largely from the young people in the left-wing parties, and perhaps most of all from 1J4. To a great extent, the *catorcistas* – the "fourteeners" – are the most significant political force in the country, not because of their numbers (in the thousands), but because their movement expresses the hopes of so many of the children of the April revolution. It is difficult to define what 1J4 is, exactly: it does not follow an identifiable ideological line, as the Communist Parties do. It has no national leaders, not very much of a party structure, and little discipline. It is a collection of romantic revolutionaries – inheritors of a small band of guerrillas who started a futile campaign against Trujillo (on the 14th of June, 1959), and then politicked until the next opportunity to take to the hills – after Bosch's overthrow in 1963. In a few months all but a few of the fighters were massacred. One of the survivors, Fidelio Despradel, explained something of the movement: "We are not a liberal party, we are not reformers. Middle-class parties are always more influential in elections. We go to the elections because the people believe in them and they want them. We have time; we are not desperate for power. We are not alone. There is not only one Vietnam, not only one Santo Domingo. We do not keep quiet. We tell the people here what we want. We fought for the constitution last year, but we could not control the revolution; it was in the hands of the PRD. What we could do was important; what we *wanted* was not important." What 1J4 wants has not been coherently stated – perhaps it is a kind of Castroism-in-one-country. But it has captured the aspirations of young revolutionaries, and its force will be felt.

How successfully would Bosch juggle the military, the upper classes, the *catorcistas*, the Americans? "We are sure that in the first year or two we will lose popularity," José Francisco Peña Gómez, a brilliant young Bosch adviser suggested. "Those who will be disappointed will go to the 14th of June or the Social Christians. We will have to promote austerity, reduce expenditures of the government in all sectors, increase production, build the infrastructure, reform agriculture. We will begin to redistribute government-owned land first. Then we hope the government will begin to produce results, and our popularity will increase."

There is a general feeling that the only way to encourage such a process is for the US to leave the Dominican Republic alone, giving aid and comfort when the Dominicans ask for it and in the ways they want it. US aid has gone for all the wrong things here – budget supplements, credits for the purchase of expensive US products, and military training. The legacy of the US intervention four decades ago was the Trujillo regime; the legacy of the intervention last year has been equally destructive.

"Now we are less than a colony," Bosch said as our interview was ending. "An underdeveloped people is very hard for you to understand. We have the problems of two hundred years ago in the middle of the problems of the modern world. You do not try to apply the same rules to Mississippi as you do to Connecticut, but in foreign policy you do not understand it. The US should be able to help us out without ruling us; I know it is a very difficult task. I shall die without understanding why the United States did what it did last year. It was natural to defend its interest, but it was not right for the United States to give orders to this government from the Embassy. Well, the damage has been done, and the cost will be high. Our history has been distorted by the invasion. You are strong enough to pay the cost, but we are not. To be a president in this situation is a very sad task."

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Fulbright on Camera

by Alex Campbell

Because he is using his powers as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to pressure President Johnson into a change of foreign policy, the name of Senator J. William Fulbright was dropped with a clang from the White House social list for six months, from last September until this March, when President Johnson apparently decided that wasn't the way to influence an Arkansan. Fulbright's response to the cease-fire took the form of three Christian A. Herter lectures, delivered at Johns Hopkins, in which he defends his dissent from the consensus as "the higher patriotism," and defines his target as "the arrogance of power." Further, his committee is continuing its rigorous cross-examinations of Dean Rusk, who as Secretary of State has the job that Fulbright was almost offered by President Kennedy, and of Defense Secretary McNamara and others.

"In a democracy," Fulbright told his Johns Hopkins audience, "dissent is an act of faith. . . . The correction of errors in a nation's foreign policy is greatly assisted by the timely raising of voices of criticism within the nation. When the British launched their disastrous attack on Egypt, the Labour Party raised a collective voice of indignation while the military operation was still under way: refusing to be deterred by calls for national unity in a crisis, Labour began the long, painful process of recovering Great Britain's good name at the very moment when the damage was still being done. Similarly, the French intellectuals who protested France's colonial wars in Indochina and Algeria not only upheld the values of French democracy but helped pave the way for the enlightened policies of the Fifth Republic which have made France the most respected Western nation in the underdeveloped world."

Fulbright acknowledges that his committee's televised hearings "have been criticized on the ground that they conveyed an 'image' of the United States as divided over the war" in Vietnam. He has two answers to make to this. National consensus can have value, but it can also sometimes be spurious. And it is a patriotic duty not to be silent in the face of apparent error. "Since the country obviously *is* divided, what was conveyed [by the hearings] was a fact rather than an image. . . . I see no merit in the view that we should maintain an image of unity even though it is a false image, maintained at the cost of suppressing the normal procedures of democracy."

For Fulbright, this is the heart of the matter, that began as far as he is concerned last September, when his attack on US intervention in the Dominican Republic as a "grievous mistake" suddenly made him the loneliest man in Congress in spite of his 24 years there. President Johnson's friend, Senator Dodd, attacked Fulbright's "tolerance of Communism." Other senators of both parties joined the attack. The House of Representatives passed, 315-52, an endorsement of armed intervention in Latin America to avert "subversive domination or the threat of it."

To Fulbright's "surprise and disappointment, much of the criticism was directed not at what I had said about the Dominican Republic and Latin America but at the propriety of my speaking out at all. . . . I was taken aback by the consternation caused by my breach of the prevailing consensus." This led him to reexamine the role of the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. Should party loyalty be his guide? Fulbright decided that it ought not to have precedence.

The previous August, 1964, Congress had received an urgent request from President Johnson for immediate adoption of a joint resolution about Southeast Asia. Fulbright served as floor manager of the resolution and did all he could to secure its prompt and overwhelming adoption. In doing so, he was influenced by partisanship: an election campaign was in progress and "I had no wish to make any difficulties for the President in a race against a Republican candidate [Goldwater] whose election I thought would be a disaster for the country." On August 7, Congress with only two senators, Morse and Gruening, dissenting adopted the "blank check" resolution, authorizing the President "to take all necessary steps, including the use of armed force," against aggression in Southeast Asia. There had been only brief debate, and perfunctory hearings by Fulbright's committee. But, Fulbright declared in his first Herter lecture, since the resolution "the Administration has converted the Vietnamese conflict from a civil war in which some American advisers were involved, to a major international war in which

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the principal fighting unit is an American army of 250,000 men. Each time that senators have raised questions about successive escalations of the war, we have had the blank check of August 7, 1964, waved in our faces as supposed evidence of the overwhelming support of Congress for a policy in Southeast Asia which in fact has been radically changed since the summer of 1964."

"Patriotic Liturgy"

This and the Dominican Republic experience are the twin motors of Fulbright's assaults on his country's foreign policy. But just what he would like to see in its place he himself does not seem too clear about. Sometimes he says his modest aim is merely to "create a greater degree of caution" in the Administration. He can be quite happy and hopeful about the fate of critics like himself: "I see it as a mark of strength and maturity that an articulate minority have raised their voices against the Vietnamese war and that the majority of Americans are enduring this dissent, not without anxiety to be sure, but with better grace and understanding than would have been the case in any other war of the 20th Century." But then he warns almost in the same breath: "We are succumbing to the arrogance of power [and] not living up to our capacity and promise; the measure of our falling short is the measure of the patriot's duty of dissent. The discharge of that most important duty is handicapped in America by an unworthy tendency to fear serious criticism of our government. In the abstract we celebrate freedom of opinion as a vital part of our patriotic liturgy. It is only when some Americans exercise the right that other Americans are shocked. . . ."

His definitions of American "arrogance" fluctuate widely. At one moment, it takes the form merely of "drifting into commitments which, though generous and benevolent in intent, are so universal as to exceed even America's great capacities." Then he says that "the great majority of the human race are demanding dignity and independence, not the honor of a supine role in an American empire," and accuses this country of suffering from a psychological need to prove itself bigger and better, because stronger, than other nations.

Fulbright is terribly conscious of American power; the US, he says, is "powerful as no nation has ever been before and the discrepancy between US power and the power of others appears to be increasing." And he tends, sometimes, to equate power with evil. Thus he argues that the American impact on Vietnam has become as fatal to the Vietnamese as Captain Cook's discovery of Tahiti was on the Tahitians, who were "corrupted by the white man's diseases, alcohol, firearms, laws and concepts of morality." In the same way, apparently, Saigon (which Fulbright has never visited) "both literally and figuratively has become an American brothel." Saigon is no more an American brothel, literally or figuratively, than was Seoul, Berlin, Rome or wartime London. But the point Fulbright really wants to make is that wherever the United States goes in the world, it takes with it, according to him, "the condescending attitudes of a people whose very success breeds disdain for other cultures." Americans, he insists, "become boorish when they are in somebody else's country and treat the local citizens as if they weren't really there"; the Americans "stamp around in sloppy clothes, drink beer and shout to each other." All this boorish behavior he attributes to their "consciousness of belonging to the biggest, richest country in the world." Further, he charges Americans with "trying to inflict our particular version of democracy" on Koreans, about whom we know nothing and actually care less, and on "ungrateful Latin Americans who stubbornly oppose their North American benefactors instead of the 'real' enemies we have graciously chosen for them."

Fulbright isn't just rewriting *The Ugly American*. For evidence of his thesis, he goes back as far as the Gilded Age, and triumphantly quotes Mark Twain. But he misses the point. For Mark Twain called his Americans abroad innocents, not boors. "The peoples of those foreign countries," the quotation runs, "are very ignorant. They looked curiously at the costumes that we had brought from the wilds of America. They observed that we talked loudly at table sometimes. . . . In Paris, they just simply opened their eyes and stared when we spoke to them in French! We never did succeed in making these idiots understand their own language." It is a sad indication of what Vietnam has done to us all that the normally urbane Fulbright quotes the passage to prove in deadly earnest that American "arrogance" was rife then as now. It was more rife then than now. Few if any Americans still defend the 1898 war with Spain, echo President McKinley's belief that it is America's duty "to educate the Filipinos," or agree with Albert Beveridge's description of Americans as "a conquering race." But, in that case, what becomes of Fulbright's judgment that "gradually but unmistakably we are succumbing to the arrogance of power?"

Fulbright is a courageous man, when he feels a cause is worth being brave about; but he is never very sanguine that Americans, or other men, will behave with courage or intelligence. He is, he says, "without illusions as to the prospect of success" when he seeks to "bring reason and restraint" to the discussion about Vietnam. "Past experience provides little basis for confidence that reason can prevail in an atmosphere of mounting war fever. In a contest between a hawk and

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a dove, the hawk has a great advantage. . . ." He, alone in the Senate, voted against Joseph McCarthy getting funds to continue his evil work; and McCarthy did not prevail. But, says Fulbright, "It is by no means certain that the relatively healthy atmosphere in which debate is now taking place will not give way to an era of McCarthyism."

That's at home. Abroad, "we must stop fooling ourselves about economic progress in many of the countries that receive American aid . . . democratic methods are more often failing than succeeding in Asia, Africa and Latin America . . . violent upheavals are . . . very likely. . . ." And that's not the worst that's likely to happen. A "fatal expectancy" is leading the US and China "toward a tragic and unnecessary war." People insist on being optimistic; Fulbright will have none of it. "We seem to feel somehow that because the hydrogen bomb has not killed us yet it is never going to kill us. This is a dangerous assumption. . . ."

Hamlet's own conscience worried him as much as the evil he equated with the King; so does Fulbright's. He was the only senator who seriously tried to turn Kennedy against the invasion of Cuba in 1960 that became the horrible fiasco of the Bay of Pigs. But, at the time of the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, Fulbright was among those whom President Kennedy summoned to the White House. "When the President asked for comments, Senator Russell and I advocated the invasion of Cuba by American forces." Fulbright did so "on the ground that a blockade, involving as it might a direct, forcible confrontation with Russian ships, would be more likely to provoke a nuclear war than an invasion which would pit American soldiers against Cuban soldiers and allow the Russians to stand aside." He now says tartly that "had I been able to formulate my views on the basis of facts rather than a guess as to the nature of the situation, I might have made a different recommendation"; and he rather sourly consoles himself that, in any case, "the decision to blockade Cuba had already been made. The meeting at the White House broke up after 6 p.m. and President Kennedy went on television at 7 p.m." to tell the American people. But he evidently finds it difficult to forgive himself for having proposed an American invasion of Cuba, and he now believes that the Cuban revolution "is unquestionably Cuban" and that Castro is "highly popular with the Cuban people." He says the "facts" are that there are twice as many schools now as before the revolution, "formerly landless peasants . . . have been given small plots," "almost everybody . . . has a job," "children are well fed." But "most important of all is the sense of dignity and national pride associated with the revolution. After six decades of being an economic colony of the United States, Cubans are immensely proud of Castro's successful defiance of the North American giant." This, apparently, far outweighs executions after kangaroo trials.

Why, then, does the US persist in hostility toward Cuba, Fulbright asks, and replies that it is because "our sympathy for those who cry out against poverty and social injustice . . . dissolves into hostility when reform becomes revolution; and when Communism is involved, as it often is, our hostility takes the form of unseemly panic. . . ." And he gives the Dominican Republic as an example. "Rather than use our considerable resources to compete with the Communists for influence with the democratic forces who actively solicited our support, we intervened militarily on the side of a corrupt and reactionary oligarchy."

But what was Fulbright doing when that was happening? The answer is: Nothing, just like all the other congressional leaders who were called, once again, to an emergency meeting at the White House. This time it was April, 1965. "We were told that the revolution that had broken out four days before in the Dominican Republic had gotten completely out of hand, that Americans and other foreigners on the scene were in

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danger, and that American marines would be landed in Santo Domingo that night for the sole purpose of protecting the lives of Americans and other foreigners. None of the congressional leaders expressed disapproval of the action planned by the President." But subsequently the Senate Foreign Relations Committee undertook an exhaustive review of the Dominican crisis in closed sessions. The review convinced Fulbright "beyond reasonable doubt" that, while saving lives may have been a factor, the major reason for the April 28 intervention was "a determination on the part of the US government to defeat the rebel, or constitutionalist, forces whose victory at that time was imminent." Fulbright observes bitterly that "had I known in April what I knew in August, I most certainly would have objected to the American intervention."

General James M. Gavin, and General Matthew B. Ridgway who commanded the United Nations forces in Korea, have both testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that they share Fulbright's fears that this country's Vietnam involvement may deepen into war with China. Trying to get Americans to see the situation the way the Chinese may see it, Fulbright has asked: Suppose a Chinese army of 250,000 was fighting in Mexico, and Chinese bombs were dropping within 40 miles of the Rio Grande? But Fulbright admits that many Americans – who he says are "severely if not uniquely afflicted with a habit of policy-making by analogy" – use a different analogy from his, and "equate North Vietnam's involvement in South Vietnam with Hitler's invasion of Poland, and represent a parley with the Viet Cong as another Munich." They shouldn't. Fulbright thunders: "The treatment of slight and superficial resemblances as if they were full-blooded analogies . . . is a substitute for thinking and a misuse of history." Instead of being so peevish – or arrogant? – Fulbright might have seized the opportunity offered by the Herter lectures to explain why his analogy is superior to the more common one, why the other analogy, with Hitler and Poland, is all wrong. Thus, he might have put a decisive end to tiresome repetitions of the Munich theme. What in fact he did, was portentously to declare: "The value of history is not what it seems to prohibit or prescribe, but its general indications as to the kinds of policies that are likely to succeed."

Thailand Next?

What kind of policy does Fulbright think might succeed in Vietnam? Of course, he wants a compromise, and darkly hints that the Administration doesn't. "We may be thinking about how disagreeable it would be to accept a solution short of victory . . . we may be thinking about our reputation as a great power, as though a compromise settlement would shame us before the world." Just the sort of unworthy thinking that stamps the US as arrogant. However, Fulbright concedes that there *are* American proposals to negotiate peace in Vietnam. Unfortunately, the North Vietnamese view them as "fraudulent plots . . . to trick them into yielding through diplomacy what we have been unable to make them yield by force." Meantime, Fulbright hopes there will be very careful consideration on the American side before enlarging the war; but he fears "that we are now expanding our commitment to Thailand in the same disorderly way that we became so deeply involved in Vietnam. There is still time, however, for the Senate to insist that any new commitment to Thailand be contracted in full accord with our constitutional procedures, including full and frank debate."

In the course of trying to educate the nation on foreign policy, Fulbright has been educating himself about China, particularly the wrongs done to that country by the West last century. One consequence of the antagonism between the US and China, he says, is that both of them "seem to think of each other as abstractions: to the Chinese we are not a society of individual people but the embodiment of an evil idea, the idea of 'imperialist capitalism'; and to most of us, China represents not people but an evil and frightening idea, the idea of aggressive Communism." Both have been at pains to dissociate the rival government from its people, though actually it is as foolish to imagine that most Chinese are alienated from their government as it is to suggest, which Peking does, that most Americans oppose theirs. It seems unlikely that either the Chinese people or their government will take kindly to Fulbright's suggestion, in the third Herter lecture, that the way to handle China is to apply to it the rules that are "desirable in dealing with paranoid individuals." The Chinese might even call this a typical instance of American arrogance.

"It would do the United States no harm in the short run," Fulbright says, "and perhaps considerable good in the long run, to end our opposition to the seating of Communist China in the United Nations, and, depending on events, to follow that up with some positive suggestions for more normal relations. The United States has already proposed visits by scholars and newspapermen between China and the US and, although these proposals have been rejected by the Chinese, it might be well, though not too often and not too eagerly, to remind them of the offer from time to time."

When Fulbright quits fulminating against American arrogance and gets down to brass tacks about specific foreign-policy steps – "cutting the cackle and getting to the 'osses" as they say in Oxford, where he was a Rhodes Scholar – it's awfully hard to see why his views should seem to upset President Johnson.

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Is Philosophy Dead Too?

by Norman S. Care

The heckling of philosophy that has recently occupied *Time*, Mortimer J. Adler, *The New York Times Magazine* and even a report on higher education in this journal, has a decidedly moralistic tone about it. The favorite verdict is that philosophy is "dead." Those who pronounce this verdict are not condemning heretical, radical, or otherwise disturbing ideas. Their accusation is that the philosophers – more precisely, those teaching philosophy in the schools, and especially those contributing "analytic" pieces to the professional journals – are "out of touch." They are charged with the quasi-moral crime of having given over the *real* business of philosophy to an assortment of novelists, theologians, historians, and (even) scientists. What the professionals are doing is something less than philosophy, something quite trivial: they are merely gaming about with language. The point of the heckling is not that the current philosophers' ideas are naughty, but that they have none.

But if the philosophers are out of touch, we may ask what they are out of touch with. I can think of three probable answers: the critics might be charging either that (1) academic philosophers are out of touch with "the man in the street," or (2) they are out of touch with the traditional and important problems of philosophy, or (3) they are out of touch with "the life of the times." If (1) is the charge it is silly; if (2) is the charge it is false; if (3) is the charge it is serious but no cause for alarm.

Consider first the criticism that professional philosophers are out of touch with the man in the street. Let us suppose that "man in the street" here means "intelligent layman." He may feel cheated when he attends a lecture on Human Freedom, only to come away with notes on nine or ten ways to use words like "compelled," "could have," "chose to," and "decide." But knowing how we operate with these words is a condition of answering the question "Are men free?" After all, a part of the reason why a question like "Are men free?" is philosophical is that it would be incredibly foolish to answer it with a simple "yes" or "no." Whatever its details, the answer will have the form "Yes (No), in a certain sense," and will require, thereby, the appropriate filling-out with distinctions and arguments. Any decent answer will have built into it large amounts of qualification. The proffered answer does not thereby become either trivial or no answer at all.

It is a consequence of the fact that answering philosophical questions requires making distinctions, and the philosophical enterprise, for humans, is very difficult. Sheer difficulty and complexity, then, can be cited to explain the sense in which philosophy may be out of touch with many men in the street. All theoretical disciplines suffer in the same way. Practical affairs and other interests prevent most men from laboring at unravelling the tangle of concepts any large philosophical problem brings to attention, just as they do not permit their exploring what counts as the frontiers of research in astrophysics, music theory and medieval art criticism.

The charge that today's professional philosophers are out of touch with the real questions of philosophy would be serious, if true. It is worth asking immediately what questions the philoso-

The Hourglass

Again and again I come
To a green place, where elm,
Maple and beech flourish,
Where summer builds its own
Attic; I walk alone
Down this conundrum road
Thinking of you, to fall –
As through an hourglass –
Where all I am dissolves
And flows toward. . . .

Yet
Thinking of love, I plunge
Back into mystery:
Who am I . . . ? This one
Indivisible grain –
Cradled by death, unique
In that parenthesis–
Is sentient now, but never
Shall live again. . . I am
Because I know I love?
The glass revolves. I am.

Through this paired hourglass
I journey, heels over head,
Identity – love –
One road, a roof of trees,
Myself a saltimbanque
Between realities.

BARBARA HOWES

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phers are missing. Philosophers in the past have dealt with a large variety of questions, not all of which would be recognized as distinctively philosophical. For example, Aristotle wrote on how to manage a household as well as the nature of being and causation. Berkeley wrote interestingly about tar-water as well as perception and god; James has a nice section in his *Psychology* on phrenology as well as on whether psychology can be thought of as a science; and Kierkegaard wrote "Consider the Lilies" as well as the *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*. Now, so far as I know, professional philosophers are not writing much about household management, tar-water, phrenology, or the lily. But it is false to say that they are not dealing with causation, being, the nature of science, or the phenomenology of human experience. They are also dealing with the concepts of knowledge, meaning, emotion, and action that so intrigued Kant, Plato, Descartes, and Hume. I will not be so tedious as to begin listing the books and articles that speak to the traditional problems. But I will at least recommend Wilfrid Sellars' *Science, Perception, and Reality* (Humanities Press, 1963) and an excellent collection of articles by young American philosophers, *Philosophy in America* (Cornell U. Press, 1965), edited by Max Black, as straightforward counterexamples to the claim that academic philosophers are out of touch with traditional problems.

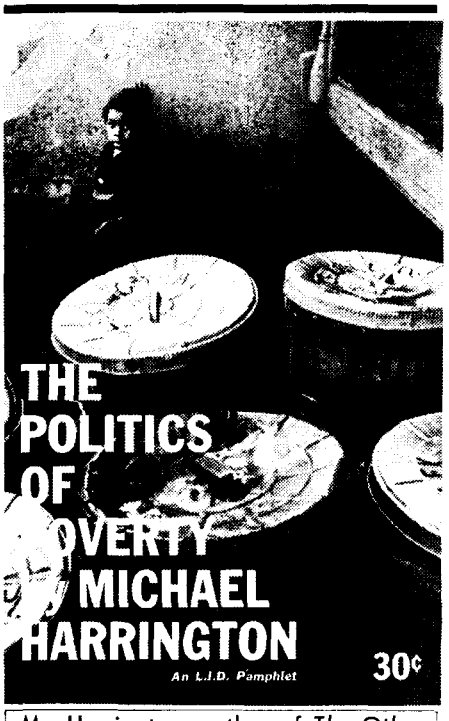
Further, the charge in question is based on a misrepresetation of what has been called "ordinary-language philosophy." Some observers appear to believe that the philosophers' concern for language is a fiddling with nice points about words. We get a picture of the typical academic philosopher as a sophisticated quibbler, to be likened to a medieval disputationist, in short, a bollixer of the works. He has no visions, no constructive views, no syntheses.

As a matter of fact, philosophers are doing now what they always have done, namely, arguing in a variety of ways for and against views which are possible answers to philosophical questions. Ordinary-language philosophy is not about *words* merely. What it is about is the adequacy of philosophical views. Not even J. L. Austin, the British philosopher whose sensitivity to the nuances of everyday speech has been a model for some contemporary philosophers, thought that ordinary language is itself the end-all of philosophy. The importance of the ordinary-language "movement" lies in its recognition of how the complex data of language bear upon what is at the core of a philosophical view: the details of the qualifying distinctions and arguments which are the guts of the view, and thereby the target for tests of is adequacy.

Consider, finally, the troubling accusation that academic philosophers are out of touch with the times, that they are having no cultural impact of the sort that, say, John Dewey had earlier in the century. It seems to be true that we have no philosopher exercising a major influence upon our practical affairs in education and social reform in the way Dewey did. But I think this condition is temporary, and explainable in terms of the developing enterprise of philosophy itself, rather than in terms of an abdication by current practitioners of the proper office of the philosopher.

It is a familiar point that the rigorous empiricism of the logical positivists in the 30's and 40's posed a special threat to the concept of *value* in the areas of ethics, aesthetics, and social and political philosophy. The positivists' account of meaningfulness as empirical verifiability, a view developed by Moritz Schlick, A. J. Ayer, and others, suggested that the language in which we express values lacks any respectable kind of meaning. Our moral and political vocabulary is employed at best as a vehicle of exhortation and at worst as a pawn of our prejudices. This view entailed the demise of philosophizing about values as a rational enterprise. Now, the apparent loss of the possibility of rational discourse about values was taken to be intolerable. But how could the loss be remedied? It would be question-begging simply to persist in discussions of value. Worse, it would be dishonest, for to do so would be to ignore the closely argued views of the positivists. The task for philosophers, then – and now I speak of their activity since the war and up to roughly five years ago – *had* to be the patient criticism and testing of the theory of meaning which led to the disrepute of our language of values. To carry this task through successfully would be to reinstate the study of values as a legitimate undertaking. At the present time, due largely to the efforts of the later Wittgenstein and of Austin, I think we can say that this task has been carried through with some success. (Let me note in this connection the recent publication of *The Principles of Linguistic Philosophy*, St. Martin's Press, 1965, by the late Friedrich Waismann, a pivotal figure in this transition.) We can speak, in effect, of the boards having been cleared for a return of philosophical discussion that will bear directly on our understanding of the problems of value which pervade our practical life.

This return is reflected in too much recent activity to list handily – none of which, curiously, has been mentioned by the hecklers. To sample just the area of social and political philosophy and nothing else: there is H. L. A.



Mr. Harrington, author of *The Other America*, takes a critical look at the current War on Poverty.

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Hart's *Concept of Law* (Oxford U. Press, 1961) and *Law, Liberty, and Morality* (Vintage Books Edition, 1966), not to mention his *Causation in the Law* (Oxford U. Press, 1959) with A. M. Honoré – all work much under the influence of Austin. There is Brian Barry's *Political Argument* (Humanities Press, 1965), plus the valuable *Nomos* series of volumes (Atherton Press) on social concepts, including contributions by political and social scientists as well as philosophers, published under the auspices of the American Society for Political and Legal Philosophy. There are many collections of good articles, among them *Social Justice* (Prentice-Hall, 1962), edited by R. B. Brandt; *Justice and Social Policy* (Prentice-Hall, 1961), edited by F. A. Olafson; and *Philosophy, Politics, and Society* (Blackwell, 1962), edited by Peter Laslett and W. G. Runciman. And there is the new material on education collected in *Philosophical Analysis and Education* (Humanities Press, 1965), edited by R. D. Archambault. This sample can be multiplied and then matched by fresh work in other areas of general cultural interest, including philosophical discussions of criticism, religion, art, science, and the nature of history.

But this merely to name books, and to say nothing about their contents. I am suggesting that literature of the sort I have mentioned represents how professional philosophers can and do contribute to our understanding of the life of the times; it should for that reason be brought to the attention of the general reading public. But one can't prove *a priori* that works of philosophy contribute in the desired way. The proof lies in our reading and critical sense. This last point is important, for the way the recent philosophy makes its contribution remains the hard way – not by means of dreamy conjecture, but by means of persistent argument, clarification, criticism, and then more of the same. In *Law, Liberty, and Morality*, for instance, Hart asks whether legal enforcement of a common morality, e.g., in matters of sex, is justified. He thus discusses the social institution of punishment and the posture of law vis-à-vis such "moral" problems as prostitution and homosexuality. His aim is to show that the plausibility of the arguments favoring

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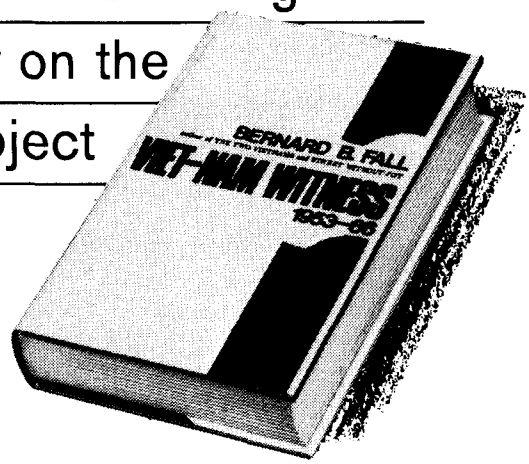

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the legal enforcement of morality, and the human suffering and loss of freedom brought with it, dwindles "when exposed to critical scrutiny." Now the high value of Hart's discussion is due, of course, to the careful work that goes into his critical scrutiny, rather than, say, to his very attractive writing. The project he undertakes is of a sort that is typical of recent philosophy, as it has been of philosophy always. The philosophical contribution consists in an exposure, for what they are, of our beliefs about ourselves and our experience, and our justifications of our institutions, practices, and conduct. The exposure can be merciless at times, and when it is we can gain the most valuable sort of understanding there is to be had.

Mrs. Dartley and her Circle

by Honor Tracy

Mrs. Dartley, the protagonist of *A Pursuit of Furies,* belongs to the race of women, happily rare, in whom possessiveness has burst all bounds and enveloped the entire world. Nothing is to happen anywhere but they will thrust in an oar. They are constantly frowning over political reports or drafting memoranda with the help of a doting amanuensis, preferably male. Their confidence in the rightness of their opinion and the accuracy of their judgment is unshakable: they freely place their gifts at the disposal of state or church and badger the powers that be without mercy when they consider them ill-advised. Wealthy as a rule, they surround themselves with hangers-on who act as a Court and in return for board and lodging flatter the monarch's vanity, bear with her caprices and, above all, accept her myth without demur.

A Pursuit of Furies
by Janice Warnke
(Random House; $5.95)

This is a theme for high comedy and Mrs. Warnke appears fully alive to the comic aspects of her character. The opening lines where "Mrs. Dartley, her violet teagown somewhat disarrayed, frowned and talked beneath a regimental pith helmet of impressive design," raise immediate hopes. All too soon, however, it dawns upon us that she takes Mrs. Dartley seriously and expects us to do the same. We are to believe that this aging Meddlesome Matty was once a figure of international importance, heeded by president and prime minister, and that even in decline she has a finger on the world's pulse, with her private network of informants and couriers; and we are to be regaled with a flood of her pseudo-profundities, offered with a sybilline gravity, on every topic conceivable. It is rather as if we had assembled for a performance of *Les Précieuses ridicules* and the curtain had gone up on Mme de Staël reading aloud from *Corinne.*

The people Mrs. Dartley has collected about her in the villa Kilchberg near Zürich are very much in earnest too. Several of them are plagued by a Fury of some kind, the "pursuit" in the title being apparently an abstract collective, like a pride of lions or a gaggle of geese. The two old refugees, Anton Hrubich and Lily Halász, Czech and Hungarian, have terrible political experiences behind them. Campion, Mrs. Dartley's right-hand man, worked on atomic research up to Hiroshima and Nagasaki and now is hopelessly withdrawn. Sylvia, the unpublished writer, finds no rest from herself, being torn between her solitary, artist's, nature and her participating, woman's, instincts – the latter subdividing as well, now in favor of Campion, now of Bingham, an American spy who looks in at Kilchberg between his missions: there is some little implication too that Campion stands for *bios* or life, Bingham for *thanatos* or death, these principles being also at war in Sylvia's mind. Also present are Posy, a poor little rich girl who has been neglected by a flighty mother, and young Marshall, a brilliant flutist, who has broken with his crass, commercial father and fled to Europe. These all snuggle up beneath Mrs. Dartley's umbrella, thrive on her delicious food and wine, converse or argue at a high cultural level, react to the world and each other in various interesting ways and provide their redoubtable hostess with material for study.

It is a curious book, slow and heavy and fraught with good intentions. Nothing in it is simple, direct or bold, all is encrusted with thought: even a chance encounter with a Negro unconnected with the story leads to a little essay on race relations. Like so many highbrow novelists, Mrs. Warnke is less concerned with her people than with her own ideas about them. She will not let them go their way and create their lives but fits them into a preconceived pattern, making free use of melodrama or coincidence whenever she requires it. She has written a *roman à thèse,* but the thesis is obscure.

A possible clue, at any rate, to influences, occurs on page 83 when a Sylvia, who is tipsy, comes out with a sudden irrelevant quotation that Campion promptly recognizes. Astonished, she tells him she has long been wont to spring this quotation on her male acquaintance and once, when "young and silly," had pledged herself to marry the first who identified it. Silly indeed it was, the said quotation being a casual remark by a minor character in that very long novel, *The Magic Mountain,* such as the most retentive bookworm might pardonably forget: the significant thing, however, is that Mrs. Warnke drops it in without indicating the source. It seems reasonable to infer that Thomas Mann is one of her authors and it may even be that, placing as she does her motley crew somewhere in Switzerland, she had *Der Zauberberg* vaguely in mind. Her people also are invalids, not physically but spiritually: apart from their Furies they are suffering from impotence, from the sheer incapacity to have the least effect on a world whose horrors are felt by

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them all and known to some at first hand. But while exploring disease in the individual, Mann related it subtly to the disorders of Europe which culminated in the first Great War: the climax in Mrs. Warnke's novel, the Hungarian revolt and its suppression, relates to nothing in it at all but is superimposed as dramatic reportage.

My hope is that the author will now forget *Kulter* and *Angst* and the *Zeitgeist* and write a wicked American novel instead of a soulful pseudo-European one: the many felicitous touches in Mrs. Dartley and the unspeakable Benjamin Knox, the television man, suggest that she will do it most rewardingly.

Some Hard Facts About Foreign Aid

by Nathaniel McKitterick

The annual debate over foreign aid has become a national bore. The gradual accumulation of well-audited experience with the difficulties of spending money effectively in support of either economic development goals or political goals makes hardly a dent in the premises of our foreign aid programs as they are served up each year to a yawning Congress. The stage army of the good, armed with the latest statistics of misery, continues to shed more benevolence than light on the basic political and economic problems involved.

Foreign Aid and Politics in Nepal – A Case Study
by Eugene B. Mihaly
(Oxford; $8)

It is downright sad, then, that when a serious and informative study of the actual impact of foreign aid in a given country comes along, it should be hidden behind an off-putting title, sold at an outlandish price and not even published in the United States – even though its author was until very recently a member of Agency for International Development's policy-planning staff. Yet Mr. Eugene Mihaly (who has now moved to the Peace Corps) has more constructive things to say about foreign aid than all the promotional committees yet mobilized.

In pursuit of his PhD thesis, Mr. Mihaly spent the best part of a year in Nepal, carefully assessing the effects of twelve years of foreign aid as administered by the United States, India, Russia, Communist China, Switzerland, Israel and the United Nations. His well-documented conclusion: "The nations and agencies which extended economic aid to Nepal, with few significant exceptions, failed to accomplish what they set out to accomplish." The United States, much the largest benefactor, was not one of the exceptions.

Our major failings in Nepal, according to Mr. Mihaly, stemmed from our assumption that almost all underdeveloped lands were being swept by a "revolution of rising expectations." Probably no cliché has done more harm to a public understanding of the problems of poor countries than has this one. In Nepal, as Mr. Milhaly documents, "Even the leadership of the Nepalese Communist Party shared the interest [of the tiny middle class] in maintaining the status quo."

It follows from our basic misconception that we should have "assumed that Nepal was merely poor and that, therefore, there were no fundamental barriers to the introduction of western techniques. . . . Yet the more [our aid projects] demanded of Nepal, the less they accomplished." Among his many illustrations, Mr. Mihaly's best is the plight of an American program, launched in 1958, designed to encourage the Nepalese to build 72 footbridges with US materials. The target at one time was ten bridges a year; by the end of 1963, one had been built.

The lugubrious story of this, and several other projects, leaves no room for doubt that US foreign aid in Nepal was never informed by an understanding of the country and the limits of its possibilities. As a result, the aid probably did more harm than good, a conclusion that was admitted even by the Minister of Finance of Nepal, according to Mr. Mihaly's evidence.

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and others' – was covering 94 percent of Nepal's "development budget," which actually included many of the recurrent costs of schools, health facilities and other "completed" projects which should have been in the regular budget. Foreign aid funds – ours and others – "paid an ever-growing share of Nepal's import bill, thus creating an ever-growing demand for foreign aid."

Mr. Mihaly argues that, ". . . in Nepal, aid, despite its success in some areas, actually reduced the prospect for growth by its impact on the political scene." Mr. Mihaly reaches this conclusion by pointing out that foreign aid enabled the government to bring into a thorougly primitive and patronage-ridden civil service most of those young graduates who might have been expected to argue for necessary land and tax reforms, had they not been given such a ready stake in the status quo. In a sense this process created "political stability" in the short run, by joining to the status quo potential forces of reform. But in the long run as foreign aid helps to produce, even in Nepal, a supply of educated unemployed (often unsuited for productive work), political instability is the likely prospect. Here Mr. Mihaly comes very close to documenting Senator Fulbright's fear that foreign aid may be a prime cause of wars like that in Vietnam.

Mr. Mihaly is perhaps unfair in using the official cant of our foreign aid program to measure the yawning gap between premise and reality. Many experienced AID hands are aware of this gap. They have to live in two worlds, the world of self-justification and credit-taking, and the world of diplomacy. The administration of AID funds, dominated as it is by the annual wrangle with Congress, forces AID employees, from the Administrator on down, to spend far more time justifying themselves and taking credit than on being good diplomats. But this is an indictment in and of itself. Mr. Mihaly's study suggests that the administration and appropriations processes we follow may well have failure built into them. Unless we can sharpen the purpose with which we give foreign aid by a deeper understanding of the peoples it is supposed to help, the best we can expect is that others will regard foreign

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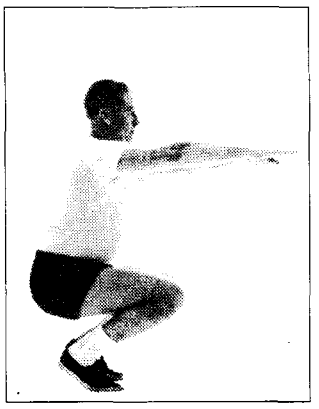

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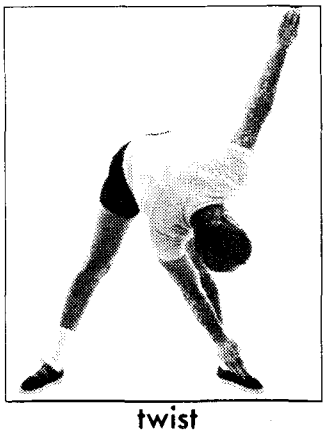

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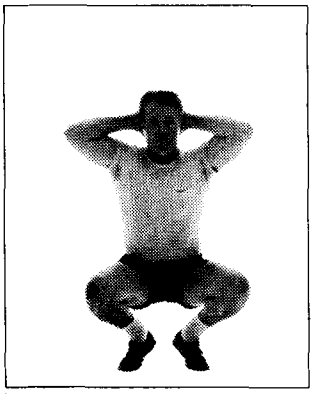

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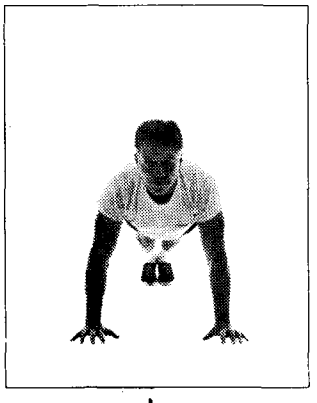

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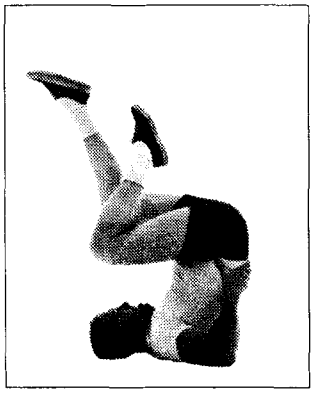

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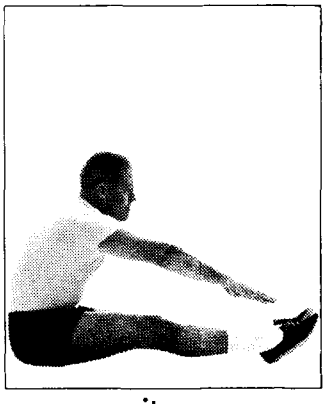

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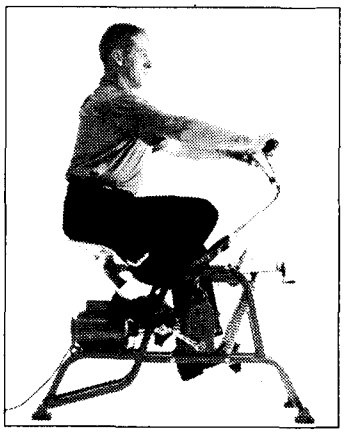

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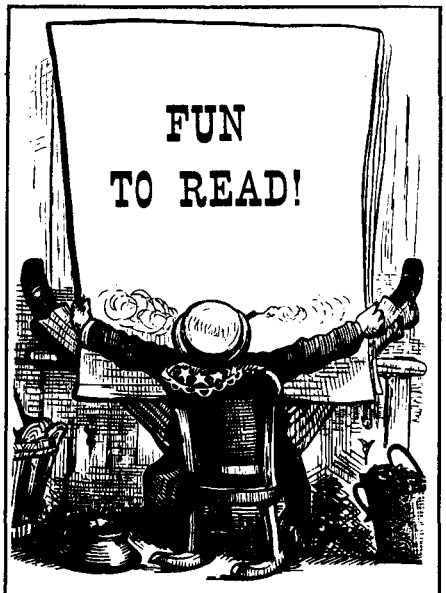

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aid, in the words of Jacques Barzun, "as the largess of those who can well afford it. . . . the product of a dull habit or a foolish nature."

Mr. Mihaly gives no higher marks to India's or Russia's smaller foreign aid programs than ours. (There's a delightful scene where the King of Nepal requisitions a supply of Soviet building materials to prepare for Queen Elizabeth's visit.) "China," he writes, "strengthened the hand of pro-Chinese elements by simply making a cash grant, a form of aid that presumed no more than a desire for ready cash." But he doesn't exaggerate the long-term benefits of such a technique. Switzerland gets highest marks for a very modest, but a very effective contribution, while the World Health Organization gets a bow for rescuing the US program to eradicate malaria.

But the objective is not to give marks; it is to devise ways of using a portion of our wealth to serve our diplomatic ends effectively. Mr. Mihaly is as much in favor of doing this as any champion of foreign aid, but he suggests we limit our horizons by better understanding of the people we are trying to help. Nepal may not be a "typical" poor country perhaps, but the premises of our aid program in Nepal are typical. They demand fundamental reexamination.

Der Alte Replies to History

by Terence Prittie

Konrad Adenauer is not a man who much cares to reveal himself. Ultra-reserved in private conversation, ultra-precise in public discussion, stiff in manner, a stickler for routine as well as for etiquette, Adenauer can relax only in the presence of his large family or of a few friends. He has always been a Roman in his calm, patrician deportment as well as in his clarity of mind and diction. This exact, formal manner may be the product as much of natural shyness as of a mild but calculated degree of contempt for most of his fellow-beings – a contempt he does not always trouble to conceal. Extreme old age – he is now in his 91st year – has made no difference whatever. He has become neither more crusty nor more mellow.

Memoirs 1945-53
by Konrad Adenauer
(Regnery; $10)

The ex-Chancellor has not set out to show himself in this first volume of memoirs. His personal thoughts, where he expresses them, are mundane. They display virtually no interest in people, in their feelings and emotions. They tell next to nothing of life as it was lived in Germany in the period covered by the book, 1945 to 1953. There are no illuminating judgments of fellow-politicians or of the national character of the non-Germans with whom he had to deal. Only once or twice in close to 500 pages is there a glimpse of that dry, "yellow" wit which Adenauer occasionally vented on his political opponents or press critics.

Is his book, then, dull? The answer is, no. Anyone interested in the development of the new Germany – squeezed between Rhine and Elbe but brimming with unquenchable German vitality, has to read Adenauer's account, however bald and stereotyped it is. Adenauer's policies did most towards forming the new Germany and he has for years past been determined to explain them in detail, in the form of an exact, meticulous record for the benefit of posterity. And the assets which he has employed in his task are the patriarchal dominance which he practised as Chancellor, the awful authority of the former *Oberbuergermeister* of Cologne, and the forensic skills which he learned as a lawyer 65 years ago.

Several of Adenauer's characteristics as a statesman emerge clearly from what is essentially a straightforward narrative account of the Federal Republic's rewinning of sovereignty and assumption of its present place in the Western Alliance (the principal problems of East-West relations and the particular problem of German reunification have been left to the next vol-

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ume). The first of these characteristics is his clarity of thought. In the very early days after the end of the war, Adenauer made up his mind that West Germany must throw in her lot unreservedly with the West. By so doing, West Germany could win real friends for the first time in nearly a hundred years and could stabilize a democratic form of government. He never wavered, and he killed stone-dead any thought of Germany playing off East against West and introducing the German people to a fourth chapter of power-politics, following those of the Bismarckian, Wilhelmian and Nazi eras.

The second characteristic of Adenauer's was his tenacity. It is a pity that his book skims over some of the most revealing illustrations of this. For instance, when he became Chairman of the newly-formed Christian Democratic Union it was the result of his simply appropriating the chair occupied by a certain Dr. Holzapfel, who had organized the party's inaugural meeting and whom Adenauer, as soon as he could, banished to the almost total obscurity of the post of Ambassador to Switzerland. When Adenauer became Federal Chancellor in 1949 it was by virtue of a majority of one vote, his own. Yet in this book he is able to write: "The voters have decided for the principles of the CDU and we are committed to their decision." In reality, the voters had returned 139 Christian Democrats and 131 Social Democrats to the first Federal Parliament. Adenauer's tenacity, in the face of considerable opposition within the CDU, ensured that the Social Democrats were kept out of the government coalition. They have been kept out ever since.

Tenacity, again, was the key factor in the Federal Republic's regaining its full sovereignty in 1952, after protracted negotiations with the United States, Britain and France. The British High Commissioner (later Ambassador), the late Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, described to me Adenauer's obstinacy during these negotiations as almost unbelievable, often maddening, "but, in its way, epic." The result, finally, was the Federal Republic's rearming on the side of the West. It is usually forgotten today that the bulk of the West German population was strongly, in many cases fanatically, opposed to rearmament. The *Ohne mich* – "without me" – movement at one time threatened to sweep the Christian Democratic government from office.

Adenauer has often been accused of having a narrow outlook. It may be that this narrowness of outlook was his most valuable trait. His memoirs do show how he formulated his aims with precision and set himself only those few objectives which he regarded as vital. Like the skillful investor he did not risk his assets in too many ventures. He operated within his own capacities and kept his eye, his hand and his mind on the immediate task. It is a rare virtue to know both your strength and your limitations. Without this knowledge Adenauer could not have carried out his three most important early policies – giving the Germans personal and political liberty, rebuilding their war-shattered economy, and leading them into the Western Alliance – with such success.

Of course, Adenauer's shortcomings, too, can be read between the lines. He has always been unable to forget or forgive an insult. His bitter resentment over his dismissal by the British authorities in 1945 from the post of Lord Mayor of Cologne may even have negatively influenced his later policies (he has never tired of repeating that he objected, not because the British were so unfair, but because they were so stupid). Help from Adenauer might have brought Britain into the Common Market in 1962. It is at least sure that his help was not forthcoming.

His disregard of the virtues of his rivals is marked, even a little lamentable. In the whole of this book there are only four fleeting references to Ludwig Erhard, the architect of the postwar German economy and Adenauer's successor as Chancellor. Only one of these

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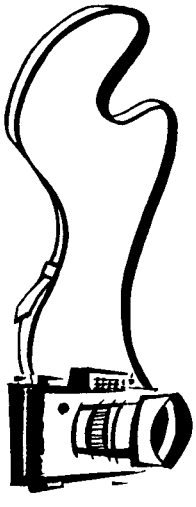

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references is mildly friendly; the others are incidental. Adenauer has always disliked, even despised Erhard and it is a great pity that he has allowed his personal feelings to get the better of his judgment. Some amend could be made in the next volume, but it is highly improbable that this will happen. In the same way, Adenauer only once mentions Karl Arnold, the Minister-President of Land North Rhine Westphalia who was at one time his rival for the leadership of the CDU. Yet Arnold thought of the Schuman Plan for a Franco-German coal and steel community long before Robert Schuman himself. Adenauer gives no hint of this. He disapproved of Arnold as a "left-winger" who favored a more liberal social policy and who was prepared to see the coal and steel industries put under some modified form of public ownership.

More understandably, Adenauer has hardly a good word to say of his Social Democratic opponents. His true narrowness ensured that he look on them as "red" Marxists, while they repaid the compliment by speaking of him as a Jesuit and secretly regarding him as the agent of the devil. The truth is that the Social Democrats have made their own contribution to the regeneration of Germany, by providing a usually moderate and constructive opposition in the Bonn Parliament and by forming or helping to form governments in the Laender. But this seems not to have occurred to Adenauer when writing this book. For its purpose is to explain his part, his policies and beliefs, his Germany. This he has done.

ART

An American Collection

Along with the Metropolitan and Boston, the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington is one of our oldest surviving and flourishing big-scale art museums. The art scene in Washington is whacked up among institutions to a degree unusual in American cities, due, presumably, to the capital's having been and still being a natural target for bequests and gifts of art. The National Gallery for the last quarter-century has dominated the city in the Old Master line, the term to include, as it does by now, the Impressionists. The Freer covers the orient, an area that begins in the Near East and goes all the way. The Library of Congress, although never allowing anything like enough exhibition space, is the chief presence of prints in town. The Phillips Collection presents modern art superbly. For the last five years, almost, the Washington Gallery of Modern Art has advanced the avant garde of yesterday and today. Most recently the Smithsonian's National Collection of Fine Arts has come to life with a bang, specializing, so far, in special exhibitions and art services to government. The Institution also has a National Portrait Gallery in the works.

All of this has chipped away at the Corcoran's position. The gallery, after taking long thought, has apparently decided on American art as its own special field of concentration. At any rate, it has just opened a mammoth exhibition, "Past and Present: 250 Years of American Art," containing some 800 paintings, sculptures, prints and drawings. The vast majority, perhaps 95 percent, is from the Corcoran's own collection. Up to a point, therefore, the exhibition represents a major rehanging of an institution and a corresponding redirection of stress. The Corcoran's European galleries have never been earth-shaking

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Norman S. Care *is on the Philosophy Faculty of Oberlin College.* Barbara Howes' *newest book is an anthology,* From the Green Antilles. Nathaniel McKitterick *is a consultant on international affairs.* Terence Prittie *has been Bonn correspondent for several British and American periodicals.*

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in significance, reflecting accurately the Barbizon taste of rich Americans in the late 19th Century. Until recently, many of the American works in the collection languished in the cellars. This Americanization of the Corcoran, the culmination of a tendency in the place for some years now, is a major event.

Appropriately enough for a building across the street from the backyard of the White House, the show begins with a gallery of presidents, the suite of paintings commissioned by Louis-Phillippe before Daumier won that round and France became a republic once more. The painter was G. P. A. Healy, chiefly known for his seated Lincoln in the state dining room. The pictures have not been seen for years, perhaps never publicly exhibited as a group, due to a generally sound prejudice against copies which some of them necessarily were. But Healy was no mere copyist. He was a powerful American portrait man and the presidents come through with strength and humanity, especially Lincoln, Van Buren and Healy's copy of the Stuart Jefferson, which gives you a slightly eerie feeling of seeing two wildly different American generations confronting one of the fathers at the same time on the same canvas.

The early portraits are particularly good at the Corcoran. The colonial men were inventing painting all over again and in the process got in amazing quantities of the stern and rockbound: The "Woman with a Fan" by Jennys, the Peter Faneuil (the Boston merchant with the hall) by Smibert are the outstanding examples of a chill, inner-illuminated colonial soul that glistens in many of the faces.

There is a glow of mellowness raised to an absolute quality in a small still life by James Peale and extraordinary painting of fabric by Raphaelle Peale in his celebrated "After the Bath," borrowed for the occasion. But the great strength, perhaps the most important group achievement of the entire 19th Century, is in landscape painting. There wasn't any at all before 1790. Forty years later it was burgeoning and it completely dominated our art throughout the century. The Corcoran has heavy representation among landscape painters in particular whose work marks the beginning and the

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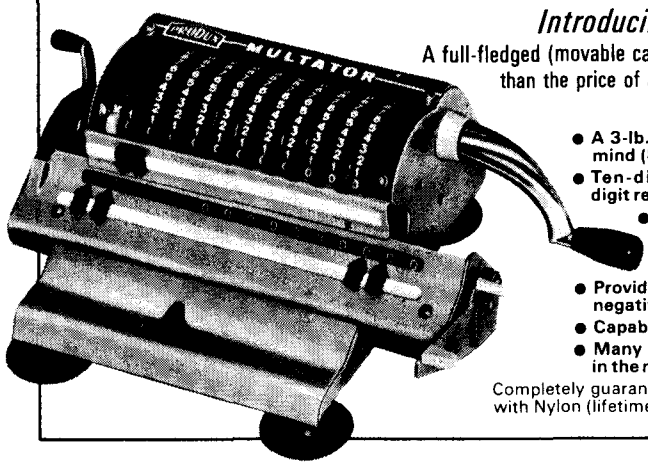

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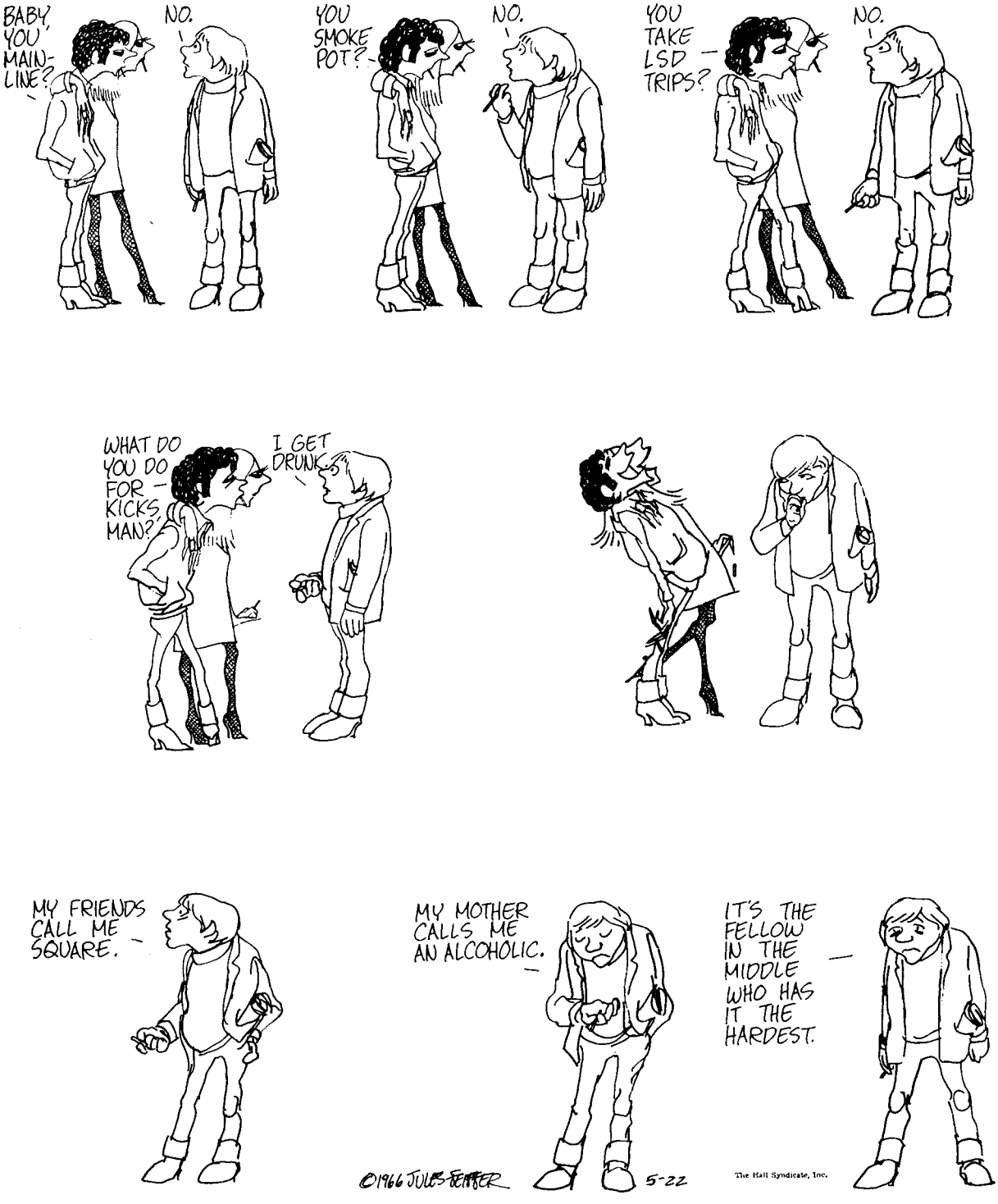

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finest flowering of the movement: Cole and Inness. The Cole pictures are especially interesting because they demonstrate the fanciful-romanciful Sir Walter Scott side of Cole along with the more solid landscape achievements. The Inness pictures are dreamy, misty, atmospherics of moonlight and sunset on the softest of fields. Backing up these two poles of the century's landscape are Wittredge, Doughty, Bingham, Johnson, Durand and the prestidigitators Bierstadt and Church.

There are a lot of 19th-Century painters you probably never heard of. For me the revelations were chiefly three. In landscape, William Lamb Picknell has a low lying farm country with road and wagon spread under a blue sky of such burning intensity as you don't expect until much later – or much earlier. William Trost Richards has a simple scene from the Jersey coast, lowering gray sky, swelling green surf, a few tiny birds on wing skimming the water or lying on the wind and the picture has utter conviction. The third shock of recognition is William B. Page, whose "The Young Merchants," a middle-range picture of a couple of newsboys against a crumbling, poster-plastered wall, also looks both back and forward in its complex paint handling and almost arbitrary use of light and shadow on the faces.

The great names of the turn of the century are all present in solid if not outstanding examples, but again it is the unappreciated and half-forgotten early in the 20th Century, as in the 19th, that gives the show its special distinction: Gari Melchers and Edmund Tarbell, for instance, both in quietly moving domestic interiors. Ernest Lawson, in several lovely pictures, seems in retrospect to have indeed participated in an authentic American Impressionism, along with the much more evanescent Twachtman. Of the Ash Can crowd, Sloan's picture of "Yeats at Petitpas" and Bellows' marvelous evocation of juvenile energy, "Forty-Two Kids," are the standouts.

The Corcoran profits from its still somewhat undefined relationship with the Edith Gregor Halpert Collection, which gives the show an unusually strong and deep representation of what is now being called the "first wave" of modernism in American art, but what, in fact, may well have been the high-water mark of serious achievement: Sheeler, O'Keeffe, Morris, Shahn, Levine – whose great "Gangster's Funeral" is on loan from the Whitney for the occasion – Kuniyoshi, Rattner, Demuth and others.

The show concludes with recent manifestations including an absurd Rauschenberg and some Color Painting as distinguished – if there is a distinction – from Op, which scintillates in Anuskiewicz, but before all that are first-rate pictures by Knaths, Lebrun, Peterdi and Jimmy Ernst, all demonstrating the continuation of a valid modernity beyond fashion and fad.

It's an extraordinary show, in many ways complementary to last year's extravaganza at the Met and will be at the Corcoran in its present form through September.

FRANK GETLEIN

Correspondence

The ADA Convention

Sirs:

I must object to the description given by Andrew Kopkind (May 7) of the 19th Annual Convention of Americans for Democratic Action.

First: He writes that the clause repudiating anti-Communism as a goal of US foreign policy was defeated in the Commission but revised on the floor of the convention. It was in fact endorsed *both* in the Commission and on the floor; the resolution adopted was exactly as reported to the convention by the Commission.

Second: He cites the few embittered speeches made by the veterans of the 1940's (when Communists at home might have undermined ADA's survival), and he then commends Professor Galbraith and Congressman Edwards for entering the lion's den to attack "ADA's indiscriminate anti-Communism." This is nonsense. Galbraith and Edwards received tumultuous applause for their assaults upon "the Establishment" and its obsessive crusade to slay Communist dragons. . . .

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He assumes that ADA has "paid for success" in the past by a "softening of their protest" in the present. Were he to quote any one recommendation from ADA's platform on civil rights, or the need for a guaranteed family income, or on the reform of congressional procedures, his strictures would be immediately punctured. Had he averaged out the relatively youthful age of the 650 delegates, he would not have found a "generational gap" in ADA's leadership; had he inquired whom the Negro delegates actually represented, he would not have dismissed them as a "dusting of dark skins." He might have noted in fairness that Carl Stokes, one of America's most successful Negro political leaders, was chairman of the Political Policy Commission.

If it is true that Senator Kennedy and the Vice-President will soon compete for ADA's affections (as Mr. Kopkind alleges), this is surely some token of ADA's influence and leadership. . . . Folklore maintains, it now appears, that if you want to believe that ADA runs Washington, you must read *The National Review*, but if you want to believe it has succumbed to Texan consensual flu, you must turn to *The New Republic*. When ADA is regarded neither as a monstrous conspiracy, nor as a home for aging incurables, its liberal contribution to the mainstream (*not* the backwater pools) of American politics may at last be recognized.

Walter Goldstein
Department of Political Science
Brooklyn College

For a report as factually accurate as Andrew Kopkind's piece on the ADA convention, it seemed to me remarkable for conveying certain large inaccuracies of vision. At no point did Mr. Kopkind say that the ADA was a political relic that had outlived its usefulness, but his report was so full of "old boys . . . at the center," "Old Robert Nathan," "Old Friend Hubert," and the "generational gap" that an innocent reader might well have thought he was getting the low-down on a left-over Townsend Club in St. Petersburg, Florida.

No doubt the ADA, now pushing twenty, can take in stride Mr. Kopkind's eager interest in its senescence, and I think it will. What concerns me more is the implication that the testimonial to Hubert Humphrey was somehow a mark of organizational decay, as though in human affairs gratitude for the past were out of place and hope for the future, irrelevant; that a man with the magnificently liberal record of Vice-President Humphrey should be casually consigned to the scrapheap because on one important issue he does not meet *all* the desires of *all* who consider themselves liberals.

Had the same standards been applied to Franklin D. Roosevelt – and there were some of course who wanted to – it would not have been enough to condemn his Spanish Embargo, his Vichy policy, and a good half-dozen other policies that many of us regarded as mistakes of historic dimension. One would have had to condemn the man himself, the more so since, unlike Humphrey, he had full powers and full responsibility for the acts of his Administration. But even the self-righteousness of liberals has limits, and, looking back, few will now regret the support they gave him, year after year.

Basically, Hubert Humphrey has a more coherently liberal philosophy than Roosevelt, that most pragmatic of men, would ever have claimed for himself. To write off "Old Friend Hubert" is to will the appalling waste of rare talent, rare integrity, and potential greatness of the rarest, whether it is done emotionally, as some flaming liberals within ADA are inclined to do in spite of their creaking joints, or, as Mr. Kopkind does, with the pitying scorn of "those who think young."

Robert Bendiner
Huntington, N.Y.

LBJ All the Way

Sirs:

The author of a recent book has described in the following fashion an eminent politician under whom he once served:

"Anyone who served anywhere near him was devoted to him. It is hard to say why. He was not kind or considerate. He bothered nothing about us. He knew the names only of those very close to him and would hardly let anyone else come into his presence. He was free with abuse and complaint. He was exacting beyond reason and ruthlessly

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critical. He continuously exhibited all the characteristics which one usually deplores and abominates in the boss. Not only did he get away with it but nobody really wanted him otherwise. He was unusual, unpredictable, exciting, original, stimulating, provocative, outrageous," etc., etc. This unkind, inconsiderate, and outrageous politician was Winston Churchill (*From My Level* by George Mallaby).

To the extent that there are differences in their characteristics as bosses, LBJ seems to have a slight edge over Winston.

"In each human heart," said Ambrose Bierce, "are a tiger, a pig, an ass, and a nightingale; diversity of character is due to their unequal activity." Or due, perhaps – in the case of a public man's public image – to the excessive or selective publicity given to his less endearing qualities. Every President, including Washington and Lincoln, has been called a scoundrel and worse by his enemies. LBJ has taken his lumps too. Still, I think that his general human qualities are better than those with which most of us get along– if ours got the withering examination that his do.

But his over-all record as President is what counts and that has been outstanding by any unbiased appraisal. . . . It is right that we should see our President painted with his warts on. But it is not right that the warts should be blown up till they obscure the real man. You're right, TRB, you have been unfair to LBJ. But that was a pretty fair apology.

Stephen J. Spingarn
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Spingarn served as an Administrative Assistant to President Truman.

Riot in Washington

Sirs:

In their otherwise commendable second installment on "Washington" (April 30), Messrs. Kopkind and Ridgeway write: "Two weeks ago, 10,000 Negro youths went on an Easter Monday rampage at a suburban amusement park. The papers rushed to insist that it was not a 'racial incident'."

Having been at the scene, questioned police, park officials and visitors, and followed the story in the newspapers, I feel the following should be reported:

The best estimates of the park attendance on Easter Monday (including whites and Negroes) have not exceeded 7,500 to 8,000. Those who witnessed the ruckus in the park (and who were nearest to whatever danger there was) were in general agreement that not more than 100 youngsters and not-so-youngsters took part. Some thought the figure nearer 50.

And while rocks and curses were hurled as the busless youths marched back to Washington, and windows of cars and houses were broken, nobody ever has suggested that more than 100 of the marchers took part in that hooliganism.

Joseph E. Mohbat
Glen Echo, Maryland

Six from Saigon

Sirs:

Press reports greatly distorted the recent Saigon trip made by six, including myself, who have been active in peace groups here. One of our main purposes, largely achieved but not reported, was to have intensive discussions, as private citizens of diverse ages and backgrounds, with many groups in South Vietnam. We talked at length for five days with Buddhists, Catholics, professional workers, students, and others. . . . Many of those we talked with do social work in villages and with refugees. But at all levels of contact – even police who were ordered to block the press interview near the end of our stay, and youths admitted to the subsequent staged "press conference" to break it up – there were expressions of support for our group and for U.S. military withdrawal. The Students Movement to End the War, a group at Saigon University reported to have thousands of supporters, sent the Committee for Non-Violent Action (which organized our trip) a resolution which expressed regret for the action taken against us by the Ky regime. . . .

With strong encouragement from these Vietnamese we decided to hold a press meeting and peaceful public witness at the end of our visit. The staged nature of the display against us at the government's "press conference" was clear (and most un-Asian, *e.g.*, the throwing

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of eggs). A few of those who took part in it apologized afterwards, saying they had only done what they were told. Next morning we walked from our hotel toward the US Embassy, distributing a statement of our position and carrying signs calling for US troops to stop killing Vietnamese now. These had been translated into Vietnamese and duplicated by Vietnamese volunteers, despite risk of prison where many already serve long sentences for anti-war views. When our walk was stopped by police near the Embassy, we were carried courteously to the van and later onto the plane on which we had already made reservations. At no time did we "shout, kick, and struggle" as was widely reported.

The extent of contact and support we found among Vietnamese was ignored by the press, who focused only on the one expression of hostility engineered by the Saigon government. The press also widely but falsely reported that we appealed to the US Embassy for help, complained that we did not receive it, and said that we planned to visit Hanoi and Peking from Hong Kong. We left Saigon, after our planned one-week stay, with a keener awareness of the large opposition to the war among many groups there, and of the efforts of the Ky regime, the US government, and much of the press, to blindly and foolishly minimize the war-weary protests of these people.

William C. Davidon
Haverford, Penna.

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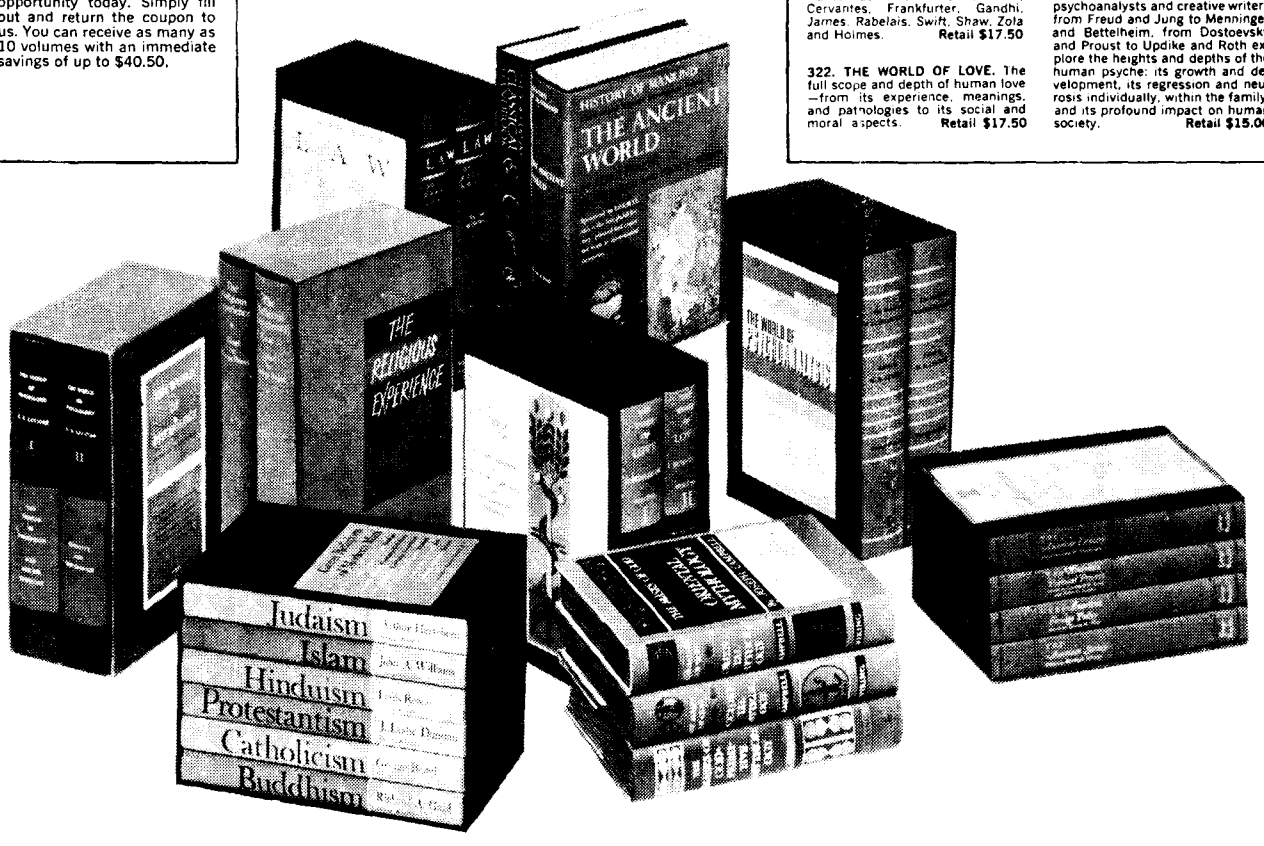

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